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# TREATISE

Concerning the

# STATE

OF THE

# DEAD,

AND OF

# DEPARTED SOULS,

AT THE

# RESURRECTION.

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Translated from the Original LATIN of  
Dr. BURNET.

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L O N D O N :

Printed, and Sold by the Bookfellers of London and  
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STATE

DEPARTMENT

OF THE

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T H E

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A  
TREATISE  
Concerning the  
STATE  
OF THE  
DEAD,  
AND OF  
DEPARTED SOULS,  
AT THE  
RESURRECTION.

To which is added,

*An APPENDIX concerning the future  
RESTORATION of the JEWS.*

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T H E  
S T A T E  
O F T H E  
D E A D,  
A T T H E  
*RESURRECTION.*

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*The Introduction: The Subject, and Method  
of handling it.*



H E narrow, uncertain, and oftentimes miserable State of our Affairs in this Life, gives us sufficient Cause to enquire, whether human Happiness depends on that alone:

4 *Of the STATE of the DEAD.*

And as we are compounded and made up entirely of two Parts, the Soul and Body; and as the Life of the Body must perish, and be wholly extinguished in the Compass of one Age, it is farther to be considered, whether the Soul, that other Part of Man, survives, or whether, like inseparable Companions, they live and die together. If the last be the Case, there is an End of us; nor is it worth enquiring after Things that are now no more.

But if, on the contrary, the Soul remains after the Dissolution of the Body, and being freed from that, lives and flourishes apart, then are many Enquiries to be made, concerning the Soul thus separated and thus existing, as what Life it enjoys, and in what State? and whether it be to remain the same for ever? Or, if it be to undergo another Change, whether it is to inform a second Body of any kind? What Distinction there is to be made between those that are good, and those that are evil? what sort of Rewards, what Punishments will be distributed to every one, according to their Merit? Lastly, It will be a pleasing Curiosity to pursue the Fate and Fortune of the immortal Soul, from its Departure and Deliverance from its earthly Body, even to the Consummation of all Things.

These



These are the Things which, according to our best Abilities, we shall treat of in the following Work; and distinguish, as far as may be, between what is clear and what is obscure; between Things that are Secrets, and Things that are popular; that every thing may have its proper Place, whether it is in Light or in Shade. In the mean time, may God the Father of Light direct our Steps, expelling Darkness and the false Images of Things, that we may at length behold the pure and uncorrupted Truth, with whose Love our Desires are inflamed.

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C H A P. I.

*That human Happiness does not depend only on this Life, but that we are to expect another.*

**T**HAT there is a God, the Author and Ruler of all Things, the best and greatest of all Beings, Holy, Righteous and Just: This the nature of Things requires: This the common Consent of Men. And this being once established, the human Soul from beholding its present State, is immediately forced to presage something

6. *Of the STATE of the DEAD.*

something of a Future. For when it observes in the Government of this World, or in this Part of the divine Oeconomy, that in the Distribution of Good and Evil, the Laws of Justice and Equity are not preserved; it easily concludes from thence, that there is something still remaining, that all the Parts of this Drama are not filled up; and thence is raised to an Expectation of some things to follow in another Life, as in the next Scene.

The Goods of Fortune and external Happiness do not, in this Life, accompany Wisdom and Virtue. They are neither less, nor less frequently enjoy'd by foolish and wicked Men: But if human Happiness were ultimately placed in these, and were to be finally determined here, the supreme Governour of the World, and the same a most righteous Judge, would never endure so great Confusion in the Order of Things. That the Good should be happy, and the Wicked miserable, is the Voice of God, the Voice of Man, and the Voice of universal Nature: But witness Heaven, and Earth, and conscious Stars, that this eternal and most sacred Law, among us miserable Mortals, in the Compass of this Life, is never kept inviolable; therefore grant but this, that God is just and holy, and the  
necessary

necessary Consequence will be, that there will be Rewards and Punishments in another Life, and that human Happiness and human Misery do not altogether depend on this.

Nor do we here complain of our own Times, as unhappy Men are often used to do; nor do we believe the Age which we live in more corrupt or more profligate than several which have preceded it: The World is now what it always was. Consult all Times and all Nations, *Roman, Grecian*, or what you will, and every where you will find the *Socrates's* and *Cato's* excellent Men, endowed with the greatest Accomplishments of Mind and Manners, yet oppressed by hard Fortune, hated by the profane and noisy Vulgar, and followed with Calumnies by the Envious: Nor can Tyrants, or Men in Power endure the Freedom of a noble Spirit, tenacious of Truth and Virtue. This is the State of our Affairs.

Besides, as the divine Justice and Righteousness, could not allow this promiscuous Fortune of the Virtuous and the Wicked should always continue; so the Meanness, and as I may say, the Vileness of our present Condition, if it was to be the only one we are to know, first to none, and second to none, would neither answer to the  
Dignity

8 *Of the STATE of the DEAD.*

Dignity of God the Creator, nor to the Dignity of the Earth's Inhabitants, that is of human Souls. If we believe that God has created innumerable Worlds besides this in which we live, the Difficulty under which we labour will not be altogether so great.

But they who, besides this Globe of Earth, (an Atom, with Respect to its Littleness, a Dunghil, with Regard to its Filthiness,) acknowledge no habitable World, own no Inhabitants in any other Part of the Immensity of the University; these Persons are greatly injurious to the divine Majesty, and fancy a God inferior to a magnanimous Man. And then if, besides the Earth itself, you observe those human Affairs which are transacted on it, you will find them so trifling, or so confused, or so miserable, you would suspect they were by some wicked Deity appointed, and by some impotent one indured: For what is there but Blood and Slaughter among Princes? What among private Men but Contentions, Quarrels, Reproaches, Calumnies, and daily litigious Disputes? And too frequently about the veriest Trifles. A great deal of Folly and trifling every where! Of Wisdom very little! And, which is more grievous to be endured, Pleasures very short  
and

and rare ; many and lasting are our Grievs and Complaints arising from Diseases, Poverty, Enmity and other Evils. So that this Farce of Life does not seem worthy of having God for its Author, or even Spectator, if you take from it all Consequences, and its Connection with a future State.

But I go farther ; the trifling Concerns of this Life, if the Hope and Prospect of Futurity were taken away, are not only unworthy of God, but even of the human Soul. We are depressed in this mortal State beneath the Rank, the Degree, and Excellence of our Nature. From whence is that Shame which we discover in some of our Actions, and some of our natural Affections ? From whence that Modesty or Perturbation in human Nature, not only when we sin, but when we obey the Desires or Necessities of Nature herself ? Why are we ashamed of ourselves and of our own Nature ? If we act nothing beneath our native Dignity ? If we are not capable of a more excellent State ? If we never had, and are never to have a Worthier ? Besides, we are destined, in this Life, to mere Toys and Trifles, which neither become nor satisfy a reasonable Soul, capable of greater and better Employments. That which is the best, the noblest, and

divine Part of us, is almost overwhelmed with the Burthen and Care of the Body, and by mean and little Offices necessary for the Feeding, Cloathing and Preserving the Health of it. \* The Soul wants not these, but is forced into Servitude as the Property of the Body. Here, subdued by Vanity, it groans under the Meanness of its Employment: But wherefore is that Understanding given, by which it contemplates Things eternal and divine, by which it measures the Heavens and the Earth; and that noble Ardour and Inclination to search still farther? Wherefore that Thirst of Immortality that is never to be quenched? Wherefore that heroick Virtue in some, which surmounts their own private Interest, and sets it aside for the publick Good and Love of Virtue? These Things consider'd, makes me believe, that God, who makes nothing in vain, gave us not this Instinct to

no

\* Can any one imagine, that Man was born only to digest what he eats and drinks? To watch the Winds, and follow all his Life-time vain fallacious Hopes; and that after this short Madness is over, he must be laid once more in the Earth from which he was taken, and resolved into his original Dust? And is this the End of Man and of human Affairs! “ We were not rashly and fortuitously created; “ but there was a certain Power, consulting the Good “ of Humankind, which he would not have produced “ and nourished if after it had undergone so many Labours, it was to fall into the everlasting Evil of Death.

*Cic. Quest. Tusc. 1. in fine.*

no Purpose; but that at length we shall be delivered from this Prison of the Body, to shine in a new and more glorious Light, where we shall enjoy eternal Felicity.

You may perceive the human Mind, and its free Motions restrained and stifled, as it were, in this Body; and the more sublime and excellent it is in its Cogitations the more is it sensible of this Impediment. To what End have we this Force and Vigour of Mind to transport us beyond the Bounds and Limits of Life, if indeed there is nothing beyond them? God and Nature have given us Wings in vain, if we are only to crawl upon the Earth, never to be lifted from the Ground, and never to reach the Sky. They are indeed incommodious and burthensome to us; for the more elevated the Mind is in its Contemplations, and the more abstracted in its Reasonings, so much the less Regard has it for earthly Affairs, and the less Ability to attend the common Offices of Life. If this is all that we are capable of, this the whole of Human Life, then the Soul perishes in its own Virtue: All Wisdom is nothing, but what is Worldly, and who sees not the Folly of that? Infamous Slander and Indignity, offer'd both to God and Man! Who can bear this, endued with one Grain

of Generosity? Who is not enraged at such Injuries imposed upon himself and Humankind? I will say this, that if such was the Condition of human Affairs, and I could know it before I came into the World, I would refuse, with Indignation, the Profer of such a Being.

We have hitherto drawn our Reasons and Argument, for the Proof of a future State, from the divine and human Nature, another Method of arguing occurs to us from the Nature of Things jointly with the Nature of God. If there is a God, there must be also eternal and immutable Laws of Good and Evil; there must be a Distinction between Things that are base, and Things that are valuable, between the Just and the Unjust; and this has always been the State and Order of human Affairs. The Connection of these Things may not be seen at first View, but a few Words will make it plainly appear. By the Name of God all Men understand he is the Highest, and infinitely perfect Deity, wise, good, just and pure; these Perfections as they are in God, so will they be found in some Degree of Proportion in all intellectual Beings, created by God. The Distinctions therefore of Good and Bad, Just and Unjust, Base and Worthy, were made from Eternity;



nity; not constituted by the Imposition of Men and human Laws only, but are derived from the Nature and Perfection of the immutable God: And as God is this chief Perfection, this Measure and Rule of Right and Wrong, whatever deviates from this Rule, and what Qualities are opposed to it, have been Vices, Stains and Errors, from all Eternity. And this is the first Part of our Argument. The Second is, that Things are not only thus distinguished, but that Men are divided into two Orders, the Good and Bad, the Just and Unjust, the Worthy and the Base: Those please God, these displease him: Those he loves and these he hates. For God cannot but love his own Image and acknowledge his own Perfections wherever they are found; what is conformable to himself, and partakes of the divine Nature, he cannot but love and cherish: And, on the contrary, abhor and put from him what is incongruous, disagreeing and opposite to his own Nature. And as God is the greatest and most powerful Lover of Right, he will not be an idle Spectator, but will take care to do Justice; neither will he bestow the same Felicity on Friends and Enemies alike, but, according to their Deserts will give every one the Portion that is due to him. And  
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the more perfect any one is in Virtue, Piety and Wisdom, and the nearer he comes to the Disposition and Nature of God, the more exalted and the happier will he be: But as it is plain to all Men that this is not so in this Life, it is a certain Consequence, as sure and immoveable as God himself, that it will be so in a future State.

And to what has been said before, let us add, as the chief Argument, and to crown the whole, the *universal Assent of Nations* to a future State: And not without Cause, as it seems to me, for the Voice of Nature is both the Index and Evidence of Truth: But the Favourers of the contrary Opinion, by two Ways, endeavour to overthrow the Force of this Argument. In the first Place, they deny that this Opinion or Hope of a future State is universal among all Nations, at least, if barbarous Nations be included; farther they say, that among polite and learned Nations, some have been more inclined to the contrary Opinion.

As to the First, as many of those Nations that worshipp'd any God, or instituted any religious Rites or Ceremonies, they did by that Practice testify the Hope or Fear they had of a future State; and that they expected Rewards or Punishments as their Actions pleased or displeas'd their  
Gods.

Gods, The other Heathens, who understood nothing of Divinity, seem to have known as little of Humanity, but like mere Cattle to have led a bestial Life. It would be, therefore, unjust to measure human-kind by this Sort of Men, the very Dregs of Humanity; nay, the Dregs of Barbarity, and by such to estimate the Powers and Virtues of other Men. If any one had a mind to inquire into the Properties of an Herb, he would not gather it without Juice and withered, or only from a Dunghil, but as it grows in fruitful Fields, receiving the Dew of Heaven and the Rays of the Sun, according to the Use of Nature; and what he finds in this Herb, he will determine to be what belongs to its Species, and proper and natural to all of the same Kind. Or if you would know the Worth and Lustre of a Diamond, you would not examine it, rough, as they call it, with all the Dirt and Filth of the Quarry, where it grew, but would view it cut and polished, and the Appearance it then has, the Lustre it then shews and the Virtue it then emits you will attribute to the Force of its Nature, and from those set a Price on the Stone.

As to the second Point, if there are, or ever have been, any, among learned Men  
and

and Philosophers who deny a future State, they have been in the Number of those who acknowledge nothing in Nature but Matter; or at least no natural Distinction in Affairs of Men between what is base and what is worthy. The First of these shall be refuted in the following Chapter, and for what concerns the other, if we have already proved from the Nature of God, that there have been, from all Eternity, Distinctions between Good and Evil, we have already destroyed the Error on which that Opinion depends; and we have shewn in the same Place, and in the same Thread of Discourse, the Connection there is between a future State and the Nature of God and the Nature of Things. And to say all at once, the whole Matter is this: *If there is a God, there is also a future State.* And they who acknowledge the First, strive in vain to eradicate from Mens Minds the Belief of the latter.

Hitherto we have trod in the Path pointed out to us by the Light of Nature, but a brighter Light shines forth from the sacred Oracles, which shews a future Life clearly and openly to all Men. It is not to be deny'd that in the *Jewish* Dispensation eternal Life was placed in Shadows and discern'd only by the Glimmering of a doubtful Light,

Light, but in the Christian Religion, the Noon-Day Sun shews nothing more clearly, than the sacred Authors do the Immortality of the Soul. That I may say nothing in this Place, particularly of the Doctrine of the Resurrection, or of the last Judgment, it is plain that Christ and his Apostles have every where distinguish'd the present Life, from a future, and on this Distinction turns the Hinge of the Christian Religion. *What will it profit a Man, says Christ, Mark viii. 36. if he gains the whole World and loses his own Soul.* That Soul that succeeds in every Thing to its Wishes in this World, cannot be lost, but in another. Christ says, *Luke xvi. 9. Make yourselves Friends of the Mammon of Unrighteousness, that when you fail, they may receive you into everlasting Habitations.* And in another Place, *Matt. x. 28. Fear not them which kill the Body, but are not able to kill the Soul; but rather fear him who is able to destroy both Body and Soul in Hell.* And in another Place, *Luke xii. 9. He that denieth me before Man, shall be denied before the Angels of God.* And *Matt. xix. 29. Every one that hath forsaken Houses, or Brethren, or Sisters, or Father, or Mother, or Wife, or Children, for my Name-Sake, shall receive an Hundred Fold, and shall inherit*

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eternal

*eternal Life.* In these and numberless other Places, Christ distinguishes the present from a future Life, and mentions them as Opposites and very different from each other: And not only when he speaks plainly, but enforces the same Argument in Parables; as in that of *Dives and Lazarus*; in that of *the Pearl of inestimable Value*; in that of *the Wheat and the Tares*; and in several other. In his Sermon to the People on the Mount, in his daily Discourses, in all Places, and at all Times, he teaches that the good or ill Things of this Life, are to be contemned in Respect to future Misery or Happiness. Lastly, By his Resurrection from the Dead, and visible Ascension into Heaven, he not only taught us verbally, that there was a future State, but even shew'd it to our Eyes.

The Apostles walked in the same Path that their Master did before them, every where asserting two Lives and two different States of the Soul. 1 Cor. xv. 19. *If in this Life only we have Hope in Christ, says St. Paul, we are of all Men the most miserable. But we know, says he in another Place, 2 Cor. v. 1. 4. That if our earthly House of this Tabernacle were dissolved, we have a Building of God, a House not made with Hands, eternal in the Heavens;*

vens; for we that are in this Tabernacle do groan, being burthen'd; not for that we would be uncloathed, but cloathed upon, that Mortality might be swallowed up of Life. In the same Manner St. Paul says to the Romans, Rom. viii. 18, 19. That all Nature together with us, does groan being burthened, and aspiring to a certain Immortality: For I reckon, says he, that the Sufferings of this present Time, are not worthy to be compared with the Glory which shall be revealed in us: For the earnest Expectation of the Creature waiteth for the Manifestation of the Sons of God. To be short, every Page in the Apostolick Writings, proclaims a future State, and Life eternal, as the Foundation and Reward of our Faith: And Christ is said, by his Gospel, 2 Tim. i. 10. to have brought this Immortality to Light. That is, explained it more clearly, and more efficaciously than Moses in his Law, or the Philosophers in their Schools.



## C H A P. II.

*That the human Soul is an immortal Substance, distinct from the Body, and from all Matter.*

**I**T being granted that Men are to enjoy a future Life, the Immortality of the human Soul does necessarily follow. But some think this adventitious and superadded to it, only by divine Favour, others that the Soul was created immortal, and by its own Nature indissoluble. The Holy Scripture doth manifestly testify, that it is immortal either one Way or the other, as we have just now seen, when it treats of eternal Life, of the Resurrection of the Dead, of the last Judgment, of future Rewards and Punishments, of Heaven and Hell, and other Things that relate to them; all which suppose, that the Soul exists after the Death and Dissolution of the Body, that it lives and enjoys both Sense and Thought. However I am of Opinion that it will be worth while, in a few Words, to enquire whether, besides the extraordinary Favour of God, whatever that is, the Soul is not immortal and incorruptible, by the Force and Principles of its original Nature, tho' depending



depending still upon God: For it greatly corroborates our Assent to this, and Belief of it, to see what we believe have its Root and Foundation in the very Nature of Things.

We can apprehend or discover nothing in the human Soul, besides Thought and the Power of thinking. Whatever the Soul does, either within itself, or externally, it acts not by Touch or Impulse, but by the Force of some Thought, whether that Thought is called Will, or Understanding, or Appetite, or by any other Name? And likewise when it suffers, either from itself, or from without, that Suffering too is a Species of Thought: So that we can find nothing at all in the Soul, besides the Power of Thinking and its various Manners.

Now if the whole Nature of the Soul, or as some call it, the Essence, consists in Thinking, it is Life essentially, and is active or conscious, continually of itself: Neither can it perish any otherwise than by Annihilation. For if you deprive it of all Thought, or the Power to think, it is the same as destroying or annihilating it. We do not deny, but this is in the Power of God, nor is that at present the Question. But we deny that its Life, or Power to think

think can possibly perish, the Essence of the Soul remaining ; which from this Constitution of the Soul, if you admit of it, I am of Opinion, does truly and necessarily follow.

They who constitute the human Mind in this Manner, do thereby constitute it immortal and incessantly active or conscious of itself, unless it is reduced to nothing. But they who, besides this Power of Thinking, and this vital Energy, if we may borrow that Word, attribute to the Soul Extension and Dimension, and lay this as a Foundation antecedent to all Thought, they are to consider by what Means they are able to prove the future Life of the Soul: The Life, I say, not simply the Duration, for it is one Thing simply to endure, or to last like a Stock or a Stone ; and another Thing to live and to enjoy Sense and Thought, which is what all Men understand when they hear the Name of Immortality, and of the Life hereafter: But if once an extended Substance is placed in the room of a Soul, in which neither Life or Thought are necessarily included, it will depend upon external Causes, or upon divine Favour, whether it shall want or enjoy Life and Thought. But I will quarrel with no one who preserves

Immortality

Immortality for us at any Rate, whether he derive it from Nature or from divine Favour.

To proceed in our Argument: They who would take from us Immortality, the dearest Thing that can be thought of, will have the Soul to be not only an extended Substance, but really and truly corporeal in every Respect, and so, like Body, capable of being dissolved. These I every where behold as Enemies to human Nature: But even with Enemies there are certain Rights and Decorums that ought to be observed. Let us not, therefore, teaze one another with Contumelies and Reproaches, but, laying aside all Prejudices, calmly debate the Matter.

For the Sake of shortening the Cause, if you please, it shall be granted, by common Consent, that there is something *Incorporeal* in the Nature of Things; or if you care not to make any Concessions, which are not extorted from you by the Force of Reason, we will prove, in the first Place, that God is not a *Body*, or is not *Corporeal*. This Foundation being laid, we will proceed to examine the Nature of the Soul, which is the Point in Question.

Although

Although it may be justly reckoned among those Absurdities, that need no Proof, *That the Corporeal World created itself*, without the Hand of an Artist, without any preceding Design, or Thought, or Counsel; and tho' it be no less absurd to suppose that the supreme Wisdom and Power, which shine forth so brightly in the Workmanship and Government of Nature, should be innate or implanted in blind and gross Matter, yet so oddly are the Minds of some Men turned, that whatever does not strike the outward Senses, or fill the Imagination, or, to speak more plainly, whatever is not corporeal, all that passes with them for nothing. Well then, let us examine this thing in a few Words. If God is corporeal, he must either be the whole corporeal World, all the universal Mass of Matter, or some certain Portion, some Species, or some singular Kind of it. If you should say the latter, it is saying nothing, because no kind of Matter is immutable. All Matter, indeed, as to its Substance, is one and the same; but as to its Modes and Qualities alters daily: That which is hard To-day, grows soft To-morrow, or is melted; and that which is thin and subtle To-day, congeals To-morrow and loses its Motion. For Motion

passes

passes continually from some Parts of Matter to other ; as likewise the other Qualities of Matter by the Mediation of Motion ; and nothing remains under the same Form perpetually. Therefore your God would be like *Proteus* ; or rather, by the various Mutations of Matter, would often die, and revive. Besides, as he is not universal Matter, he could not be present every where ; nor only that, but he would be broken afunder, and his Substance would have Chasms in several Places, by the Interposition of other Bodies ; for if your God is the thin and fluid Portion of Matter, by the Interposition of hard Bodies there would be a Solution of Continuity : If the hard and gross Part of Matter, he would be often and variously torn from himself by the Fluid that would run between his divided Parts. So that, by this Means, you will have not One, but numberless Gods ; not a whole God, but so many broken Limbs, and Fragments of a God. Finally, you include all your God, in single Particles of Matter ; or Part of him in one, and Part of him in another : Either Supposition is mere Folly, and not worth while to consider any farther.

You see how ill a God is made up of any particular Part of Matter, choose what you

will for the Purpose; nor is it less absurd, or impossible, that the whole universal Mass of Matter can be exalted into a God or Divine Nature. If the whole Structure of the visible World, and all Bodies whatsoever, celestial, terrestrial, animated, unanimated, Stones, Stocks, Metals, and whatever is more fordid, be the God you feign, then does your Folly exceed that of all Heathens; for they believed that the Deity which they adored was very different from the Marble or Wood, or whatever Statue they consecrated to him; they believed indeed that the God inhabited in some Manner the Statue; but they distinguished the Inhabitant from the House, and Sword from the Scabbard: But you confound one in the other. Besides, according to your Opinion, we daily eat and drink the God we worship; nay, tread him under our Feet. And whatsoever Matter suffers when it is toss'd to and fro, cut, burnt, ground, or any other way tormented, all that God suffers: For Matter you say is God, and certainly whatever is divine cannot be insensible. These Things are contrary to all Reason: But you are pressed by a greater Absurdity; for you not only make God suffer, but, what I dare hardly venture to pronounce, you make him wick-  
ed

ed and impious: For if the Universe is God, he must be in all Parts, whether animated or unanimated, base or worthy, pure or impure, and finally in wicked Men and Devils themselves; but from these Things not to be mentioned we ought to refrain.

These, and other Things of this kind, unworthy the Majesty of the supreme Deity, go along with your Hypothesis, which depresses the Nature of God, and confounds it with Matter. Nor do you less contend with Reason on the other hand, when you carry Matter into the Divine Nature, and cloath it with Perfections that it is neither willing nor capable to put on. Let us recollect, if you please, what all Men understand by the Word *God*: They all understand, as I imagine, a *Nature infinitely perfect*; but is there any Man, who can persuade himself or others, that all Perfections are inherent in Matter, that they all flow from that Fountain, and all spring from that Root? In the first Place, the Mass of Matter has in itself neither Force nor Action; nor could it receive it from Abroad, if nothing was more excellent than itself: And then, after it had received it from something else, it could not possibly exercise it, unless by the Division of itself into various Parts, and local Motion of

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those Parts ; but neither Divisibility nor local Motion agree with infinite Perfection. Secondly, if the Mass of Matter contains and includes in itself neither Force nor Action, much less does it contain and include in itself Cogitation, and least of all Cogitations infinitely perfect, infinite Wisdom, Power and Goodness ; besides other Perfections, in which the Divine Being out-shines all other Things.

But you will say perhaps, (that we may not indulge our own Cause) that Cogitation indeed is not manifestly included and contained in the Conception of Matter, or of the Mass of Bodies ; but that perhaps, it is secretly or remotely contained beyond the Reach or Capacity of our Souls. To which I answer, that among all the Ideas of the human Mind, there is none that is more present to us, none that is clearer to us, than the Idea of Matter, or of an extended Substance. We most evidently conceive all its Dimensions ; besides its Divisibility, Mobility, Figures, Positions, and Proportions. And the Sciences which treat of these Properties of Matter, are of all the most evident and demonstrable. And when we can find no Connection between *Cogitation* and any of these Properties of Matter, or  
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any other Property of it, that falls within the Compass of human Understanding, it seems to be a groundless Suspicion, and without the least appearance of Truth, that this most excellent Property, or Perfection of Matter, according to your Imagination, should be contained in the same Idea, and yet should not shine out in it; nor the Mind be able to come at it there, or derive it from thence.

I say, *This most excellent Property*; for the other Properties, which I enumerated, are of small Moment, of little Dignity, if compared with *Cogitation*, and the Perfections which flow from it; these constitute the Divine Nature, and all that is noble and eminent in human Nature: The others have neither Life, nor Sense, nor any Thing of the Force and Virtue of the greatest of Beings. Thus that Idea which appeared to us, of all Ideas, the most entire, and the most accomplished, that is to say, the Idea of *Matter*, or of *Corporeal Nature*, is cut short by one half, and that the more noble half: God hath concealed from us, to our great Disadvantage, if not to our great Wrong, that which was most noble and most worthy to be known in the Nature and Notion of Bodies, by imposing this defective, and therefore

fore fallacious, Idea on us. But this is a Calumny that has been invented against God, and against Men: Whatever is proper to Matter is included in the Idea of it; and whatever is foreign to it, and of another Kind, as *Cogitation* and the Power of Thinking, that neither is nor ought to be included in it, unless you would include any Thing in any Thing, and so wholly confound the Distinctions of all Things.

But that we may go on with our Argument: The divine and corporeal Nature are so far from agreeing, that they are repugnant to each other, and contradictory. One is infinitely perfect, the other manifestly and variously imperfect, impotent and innervate in itself, and every way liable to suffer from external Force: One immutable; the other obnoxious to perpetual Mutations; one simple and uniform; the other variable by divers Modifications and innumerable Compositions. By which it abundantly appears, that there is not only no Connexion, Affinity, or Similitude between the divine and corporeal Nature, but a manifest Repugnancy; and that consequently *God is incorporeal*.

This Foundation being laid, that I may come nearer to what I proposed, I assert, in the second Place; *That there may be something*

*thing incorporeal, besides God.* This is manifestly deduced from the Premises, without Strife or Delay; for since God is incorporeal, it is plain from thence, that an incorporeal Nature implies no Repugnancy; or that it may be a possible Nature. And the Production of a possible Thing is no Impossibility: And when the same God that is incorporeal is likewise omnipotent, it is in his Power actually and really to produce whatever is possible.

In the third Place, and finally, we affirm, that *the human Soul is of an incorporeal Nature*; or that it is an incorporeal Substance. I could here before this Proposition insert another, more general, and, as it were, intermediate; I mean, *that it is not only possible there should be, but that there really and actually are, existing in the Universe, incorporeal Substances, besides God*; and then have added, *such, in its kind, is the human Soul*. But, if you please, they shall be both comprehended in this Chapter. First then, I assert, that in the vast Compass of the Universe, there are other incorporeal Substances besides God. For nothing from the Thing itself, as hath been shewn, hinders the Sovereign and All-powerful Being from creating these incorporeal Natures when he created

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ated the Universe, and without them the Workmanship of it had been in a manner imperfect, and mutilated in its noblest Part. If any one should build a magnificent Edifice, and when he went about to adorn and furnish it, should put nothing that was costly therein, but let the Furniture be only of Wooden or Earthen Ware, and all the Utensils be made of the basest Materials, neglecting every Ornament that was beautiful and elegant, you would certainly say, that Man, or that Master, was either mad, or ruined by his Expences, or miserably Covetous. So if the Creator of all Things, in compleating and adorning his Work, had omitted the most excellent Ornaments, incorporeal Natures, one would have been apt and ready to say, That he had been either by Envy or Impotence deprived of the Will, or of the Ability to finish and accomplish his Work. How great and how frightful a Chasm had there been? How great a Vacuity in Things, if there had been nothing between God and Matter, the highest and lowest Nature? In this Interval there is room for numberless Orders of Beings, and Beings of the noblest Kind; which, if God had either not created, or had afterwards suppressed, he had neither been mindful of his own Majesty,

Majesty, nor the Dignity of his Undertaking. Lastly, In the Nature of Things there are many Phænomena, which cannot be justly referred to Matter or immediately to God: These Appearances require intermediate Natures, and secondary Causes from God, superior to the utmost Power of Matter: But this is not the Place to dwell upon these Things. The Way being now prepared, and as it were levelled, we come at length to the Conclusion itself, which terminates the Argument: Which is, That *among these incorporeal Substances, the human Soul has a Place*, or that it is one of their Number. The whole of the Business, you see plainly, turns upon this, to know to which of these Classes, the Corporeal or Incorporeal, the human Soul belongs:

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\* That this may appear more clear, and distinctly, let us examine a little, and look as it were, into ourselves, that we may see what we are, and what Value we ought to put upon ourselves. Every Man is conscious of himself, and of his own Existence. If any one shall happen to doubt of this, he must be convinced by that very Doubt, and confess that he exists. But what Sort of Beings we are, who doubt, will, will not, rejoice, grieve, and think a thousand different Ways; here, I say, lies the great Question, what we are who act, and who suffer these Things. In the first Place, I perceive that I am a Being distinct from all others. Nor does any other feel my Pain,  
nor

great Measure lie hid from us, and we have hardly any other Way to discover the Differences between them, than by their Properties and their Effects, it will not be foreign to our Purpose to compare, in the first Place, the Qualities and Effects of each Nature the Corporeal and the Incorporeal, or of our Souls and our Bodies; that we may learn from thence, whether they are different, or are one and the same; and if they are different, in what Manner they differ, or are opposed to each other.

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nor I that of another; nor Pleasure or the other Affections. Moreover, I am more or less knowing than others. And as every one has his own Will so have I. I am Sick and in Health, I hunger, I sleep myself only, and lastly, I live or die for myself alone.

On Account of this Consciousness of Actions and Passions, proper and peculiar to me, and incommunicable to any Thing else, I call myself a certain Individual, divided and distinct from every other Being; distinct from God, as I am an imperfect Being, obnoxious to the Errors both of my Understanding and Will; distinct also from every other Being, when they neither perceive my Thoughts, nor my Sensations, nor have I any Sense of theirs. In the mean while, those Actions or Passions, of which I alone am conscious, must necessarily belong to some Substance, as the Properties and Faculties of that Substance: They cannot belong to God, as we have shewn above, and will be still more clear below; they must belong then to some created Substance, corporeal or incorporeal.

These Things being premised, you see very clearly that the whole Point in Debate turns upon this, *viz.* to what Class of created Beings, corporeal or incorporeal, the human Soul belongs?

We have seen above, that *Cogitation* is not included in the Idea of corporeal Nature; and on the other Hand that none of the Properties of Body are included in *Cogitation*; and therefore the Author of Nature has deceived us both Ways if *Cogitation* belongs to Matter; and therefore unless we pretend to understand beyond the Reach of our Faculties, or besides them, or against them, no Motive or Handle can spring from our Ideas, that may occasion our uniting or confounding *Cogitation* with corporeal Nature.

But you will say, perhaps, that we sometimes learn those Things by Experience, which we could never have deduced from our Ideas alone. If we should grant it, yet never has it been found by any Experience, that the Mind either acts or suffers after the Manner of Matter; or that Matter either acts or suffers the same Way that the Mind does, that is, by the Power and Force of its own Thought or *Cogitation*. We all know very well, that Matter either acts or suffers by Motion, Touch, or Impulse; but never has it yet been made to appear, that the Mind either acts or suffers by Touch, or by Impulse, or by any of the Motions which they excite. For Example, when I move by a voluntary Mo-

tion either my Tongue or my Finger, or any other Part of my Body, I am conscious of no Impulse, or any Manner of Stress whatever made by my Mind upon that Part of the Body. There is, indeed, a Motion of the Spirits, or of the thinner Juices, from which the Motion of that Part of the Body ultimately proceeds: But we are now inquiring into the first Original, or Cause of that Motion of the Spirits in the Brain, as far as it lies in our Power, and after the Manner by which it proceeds immediately from the Mind, or from the Action of the Mind; But I affirm, that I am conscious of no Action of my Mind in the producing or effecting this Motion, but *Volition*, or the Command of my Will. But that this Action, or Command of my Will, is performed by Touch, or Impulse, or has its Effect by those, I am able to discover by no Consciousness, nor find by any Experience.

And as for the Passions of the Mind, impressed by the Body, or by corporeal Objects, these Objects, as far as they are in the Soul, have no Resemblance or Relation to local Motion, or to those Motions of the Body by which they are excited. For Example, the Heart is contracted in Grief and Sadness, and dilated in Mirth and Joy:  
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But no Man can imagine that this Contraction, or this Dilation, can be in the Soul itself, as if the Soul of Man were muscular, and composed of Fibres and Tendons. For the Sense of Grief, of which we are conscious, and which we clearly perceive, represents neither Local Motion to us, nor any Thing that is moveable, but is a singular Idea, having no Resemblance to any other, and least of all to Local Motion.

Lastly, In external Sensations, in the Perception of Taste, Smells and Sounds, that which we most immediately feel, gives us no Image, either of Matter or Motion: And when we see external Objects by Images painted in the Eye, those Images can never be carried with an equal Motion, and in the same entire Figure to the Seat of the Soul in the Brain, or in whatever Part or Region the Soul has its Seat, and Perception is performed; nor can *they more*, when they are in Disorder and Confusion, represent the Object (by their own Force) distinctly to the Soul. But we ought least of all to suspect, that these Images, or Remnants of Images, are the very Thoughts themselves that arise from them in the Soul: And the same Account is to be given of those little Images, which we may call Memorial  
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Marks, which are very imperfect and therefore unequal to their original Types. Finally, If there are besides any other Thoughts, that may be referred to this Class, you will find upon inquiring into them, that they include nothing extended, or figured, or corporeal.

Thus far have we treated of the first Operation of the human Soul, which is called simple Apprehension, whether it be a pure and abstracted Idea, or joined together with Motion in some Part of the Body : But there are in us, besides Ideas or simple Apprehensions, superior and nobler Principles, or Faculties of the Soul, as Judgment, Reason, and a Chain of Reasons linked to one another ; and lastly, There is a sovereign Principle that presides over all these, and is therefore justly called by the *Greeks*, τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, ἢ τὸ ἀντεξούσιον. This Sovereign Principle has Dominion and Empire as well over the Operations of the Soul, as over the Motions of the Body : And all these are to be separately weighed, when we search into the Nature of the Soul. Let us proceed then, if you please, to a separate Examination of each of them. The Operations of the Soul then, as we said above, following each other in due Order, are divided into simple Perceptions, into Judgments,  
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into Ratiocinations, and, if you please, into Methods, or into a Series of Thoughts that are marshalled in exact Order; for Method comprehends and disposes of several Ratiocinations. Raticination is employed in the Connexion of several Judgments, Judgment in comparing and comprehending several Ideas, or several Sensations. So, if you will proceed in Order, Ideas are the first Elements of Knowledge, and, as it were, the Letters of the Alphabet, from which Words are composed, as Sentences and Periods are of Words, and a whole Discourse of Sentences: And thus the Scale or Gradation of Thoughts or Cogitation, in some Sort answers to the several Parts of Speech.

Enough has been said of Ideas: The Judgments and Ratiocinations follow, in which the Mind contemplates the Relations, Proportions, and mutual Regards of the Ideas; for we ought to take Notice of this, that the Ideas, considered separately, are incapable of offering any Truth to us, and that they neither conclude, nor affirm, or deny any Thing. This is another Action, another Faculty of the Soul, which by contemplating the Proportions, Regards and Respects, that there is between these Ideas, (I understand Ideas here in the largest Sense)

Sense) affirm or deny something concerning them, and consequently concerning the Things which they represent, as they accord or differ, imply or exclude, agree or are opposed to each other, and this according to their different Measure and Degrees. Now fancy, if you please, that the Ideas themselves are corporeal Motions; what are these Relations between the Ideas, these Concatenations and Dependencies? But Lastly, What is this Judge, this Ruler of the Ideas, that examines as well the Ideas themselves as the Relations they have to each other? Compares them, weighs them, determines and reconciles them? And by comparing them, forms various Propositions, and Concatenations of Propositions?

Lastly, Can you believe that this Progress that is made in thinking, from simple Perception to Judgment, from Judgment to Ratiocination, and from thence to a well ordered Series and Context of Arguments; can you believe, I say, that this Progress is made by the Impulse of one Part of the Soul on another, or by any Succession of Motions, according to the Laws of Matter and Local Motion? Most certainly you do not believe it: Turn your Eyes inward, consult yourself, interrogate your Soul, that is master and conscious of itself; ask it, if  
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these Operations are nothing but corporeal Mutations, but Touches, Impulses, or Dashings against other of corpuscularian Particles, and that they are produc'd one from the other, according to the Laws of local Motion: Your Soul, unless it lies against the Truth and itself, and is industrious to depress itself into an inferior Order of Things, which God did not ordain for it, but which yet it deserves, by reason of the Wrong and Injustice which it does itself; I say, unless it does that, it will ingenuously confess, that it finds Nothing at all of that in itself, nor is able to gather from any Indication, that these Operations are performed in it after a corporeal Manner; by Virtue of its own or of any other Body; but that by a Power peculiar to itself, and according to the Laws of a thinking Nature, from the Contemplation of its Ideas, and the Relation between those Ideas, new Contemplations more compounded arise; as it were, so many new Births, or new Conceptions, after them.

To confirm this Testimony which the Soul gives of itself, if it is frank and ingenuous, let us recollect a little what we have said above: That *Truth* or *Falshood*, properly called so, does not consist in the bare Ideas taken separately from each other, but

in the right Disposition of several Ideas among themselves to their different Kinds, and their several Relations; for so Propositions and Judgments are formed in the Mind, from which Ratiocination is afterwards wrought; and from them both, Discourse of whatever Nature, Oration, or Dissertation. From what has been said, we form two Observations: The first is, that the greatest Force of Mind that can possibly be conceived, is seen in its contemplating, distinguishing, determining the Relations that Things have to one another, or the Ideas of Things. As Argumentation turns upon these, or makes its Progress from one to another, according to their mutual Connexions or Relations, the whole Series, and Progress, and Concatenation of Thoughts depends entirely upon these. The Ideas of Things that fall under the Imagination, being separately taken from these, are like so much Sand without *Lime*: The Things which cement them, are the foresaid Relations *perceived by the Understanding only*. I say, *perceived by the Understanding only*; for the second Observation that we make is this, that the Relations of Things in this Nature have no Images of themselves in the Brain, no Marks in the Imagination; nor can they be represented by any corporeal Image,  
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when they are without Parts, without Shape, and without Extension. However, the express *Terms*, or the Words which we annex to our Idea, may in some Degree be represented; as for Example, a Triangle or Quadrangle, or something of that Nature: But the Comparison or Proportion between the *Terms*, or the Parts of either of them, or between any other Things whatever; this is *Ratiocination* resulting from divers Things compared with each other, which can be represented by no Lines, and which no Colours can paint. We may apply to this what the Prophet said concerning the Divine Nature; Isa. x. 18. *To whom will ye liken Almighty God? or what Likeness will ye compare to him?* What Similitude of his Likeness, or what Effigies of abstracted Proportions can you possibly conceive could be drawn in the Brain, or in any other material Substance whatever? Thus the Reasons of Truth and Falshood, of Baseness and Worthiness, of Possibility and Impossibility, and of those universal Notions which arise from the comparing several Things together, I say, these, and Ideas of this Nature, have not the least Trace or Fold, the least Shadow, or Form, or Figure, in the narrow or smallest Fibres of the Brain. But enough of this Argument.

Hitherto we have followed only one Thread of Discourse, *viz.* the gradual Progress that the human Soul makes in its Operations; in which, from simple Perception, it proceeds to Judgments and Arguments; and from thence to a Series and System of Thoughts in the Arts and Sciences, ranked in the most beautiful and the exactest Order, and to a long Range and Sequel of Propositions, as well for Contemplation as Practice, and the Government of human Affairs. How justly are these Virtues and this Force admired in the human Soul, by which it is distinguished from the Machine of its Body, and from all material Substance? Let us now return to that other no less admirable Principle or Faculty which we mentioned above, by which the Soul is likewise distinguished from the Machine of its Body, and by which it vindicates its Empire over all the Motions of the other: This Principle we have called *Τὸ ἀντεξέλιον*; the *Latins* call it *Liberum Arbitrium*, or the voluntary and spontaneous Force of the Mind. In the first Place, by the Force of this Principle we govern the Body, and command the Spirits which way we please, to move this or that, or any Part of it: By this Principle we resist the Propensions of the Body, we controul our Appetites, and  
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its Affections, and its external and internal Senses, as often as it is our Pleasure.

But what Sort of Thing, I beseech you, is this that thus struggles with the Body, if we are nothing but Body? When a River runs either this Way or that, can it, by its own Force, put a Stop to its Stream, and turn it a contrary Way? No Matter whatever acts against itself, no Machine is conscious of its own Motions, or from that Consciousness a Corrector and Reformer of its Errors. If it err, as it is not conscious of it, it continues to err, till the Hand of the Artist or Master being applied to it, it is brought into Order, and restored to its right State.

This *Reflexive* Principle, if I may so call it, cannot be imitated by any Machine or any Part of Matter. This Force that is a Reformer of itself, and that repents of itself, transcends all the Force, the Nerves and the Springs of those corporeal Engines that appear to move of themselves: And as it is singular and peculiar to an intellectual Nature, so it is in that Nature what is greatest and most divine. I not only admire that perpetual Motion in the Mind of Man, by which it is raised above all Matter, but there is something yet more sublime, which

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lords it over the Mind itself, as well as over the Body, that with sovereign Authority exacts an Account of all the Motions of each, and, as it were, another I, and a supreme Judge, strictly reviews the Actions of both one and the other, and corrects or confirms them at Pleasure \*.

Now as to what relates to our Thoughts, and to the several Motions of our Minds, what we chiefly find by Experience is this, that the Mind, according to that Liberty and Dominion with which it was at first created, applies itself to prosecute whatever Thought it pleases, dwells on it a longer or a shorter Time, deserts it, and turns itself to another, according to its sovereign Pleasure. Besides, we are to observe, that this *αυτεξέσιον*, in exercising its sovereign Power, either

\* Tell me, I pray, what is the Difference between Sleeping and Waking? When we dream, some Thoughts follow others fortuitously, according as the Phantoms offer themselves, without the Government or Command of the Mind, whether they are aptly or absurdly joined. But when we are awake, there is something in us that corrects these Thoughts, guides them, commands them, stops them, and turns them which way soever it pleases; and rejecting the Absurd, connects and composes the rest into a rational Series. What is that superior Principle that presides over all these Motions of the Body, and all these Thoughts of the Mind, and governs them at its Pleasure? This superior Principle, I call the high, the Sovereign, and imperial Mind.

either on the Body, or on the Soul, sometimes takes the Advice of Reason, and follows that for its Guide; and sometimes, and that but too often, it takes a contrary Course; and then it loses all Command of itself, and often runs headlong upon its own Destruction. But when it calls in Reason to its Assistance, and chooses her for a Companion, then she is like the Deity, and calls to a severe Examination all the Errors of the Soul, the Errors of the Will, and those of the Senses; the Errors of the Imagination, and those of the Passions; nay, and the Errors even of Reason itself. In this the divine Force of the Soul shines out with the greatest Glory. Indeed, in every Action, in every Passion of the Soul, let it be ever so weak, let it be ever so abject, as in Sensation, or in any Affection or Appetite, there is something superior to all corporeal Force, I mean that conscious, perceiving, and comprehending Quality, which is every where present; for which Matter can be never sufficient, nor any Thing composed of Matter. But when we ascend by the aforementioned Steps to the supreme Perfection of our Natures, then we are immensely distant from Earth, and from earthly Things; then we are raised to the very Heaven of Heavens, ten thousand Degrees higher than any organical or mechanical

chanical Engine could ever have the Force to carry us \*.

Lastly, That I may wind up all this together, there is something within us that may be called an universal Percipient, or an universal conscious Principle, that runs thro' all the Operations of the Soul, and is diffused through all its Actions and Passions. Now I would fain know of you what this is: Is it some Limb, some Part or Particle of the Body? It is one and the same Thing that discerns external Objects, that judges and reasons, that wills, resolves, understands; lastly, that receives all Impressions, and exerts or accompanies all Actions. There is a Necessity that this universal Perceiver should be very simple, and of an Unity inexpressible, that it may be capable of receiving so many Impressions without Confusion, and of contemplating with one View so many Reasons and Relations of Things. No Part or Portion of Matter seems to me  
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\* But that we may proceed. In a cogitative Nature two Things concur, which never concur in Matter or a corporeal Nature, that is to say, Action, and the Unity of Action: Our Conception of Thought includes in it Action, and that the most united Action: But Matter is either void of Action, as the more hard, ponderous, unweildy Bodies are; or it is void of Unity, as fluid and volatile Matter, which consists of numerous Particles, which are carried this way and that, without Connexion or Unity.

to be capable of so much Unity and Simplicity. Whatever is received, is received according to the Measure of the Receiver; and where there are several Parts or Particles in the Receiver, the Impression must be confused or distracted. If the whole Impression falls upon the same Point, there will be Confusion; if upon several, there will be Distraction. In Matter there can be no one Part that can perceive the Whole, or that can be conscious of the whole Impression, and the whole Object: But as in the perceiving external Objects, so in the comparing and distinguishing them, there must be something one, that comprehends the Reasons of them, and handles, or divides, or connects them, like so many Threads; and either lengthens them, or breaks them off, and in various Manners winds and works them together. And in all these Variations and Operations, besides the proper Force which is in each of the singular Operations, there is a certain common Force which runs through them all, and is, as it were, the Soul of the Soul. And this universal Perceiver or universal conscious Principle, must not only be something one, but something most perfectly one, and most simple; of such Unity and Simplicity, as was said before, that can never be conceived to be in any extended Substance,

stance, divisible and composed of distant Parts.

These Things thus discussed with all possible Brevity, it appears clear to me, on every Side, that our Souls are of a different Nature from our Bodies, and superior to all corporeal Force whatsoever\*. And this appears evident, whether we contemplate the Ideas of both Natures, or the Motions and Operations of the Soul, or that *universal conscious* Principle, which is inseparable from the meanest of them. Many other Arguments, and those unanswerable ones, are used by learned Men to prove the Distinction between the Soul and the Body, and any particular Part of the Body. Certainly, the Soul of every Man is something permanent, and is, during Life, the same numerical Being. But no Part of the Body is, during Life, the same numerical Thing: but one Part flies sensibly off, and a new one succeeds unconscious and ignorant of the Things which the other knew or acted. But there is no Occasion to dwell longer here upon this, when the Christian *Institution* hath instructed us clearly and fully in the Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul, and the Distinction between that and the Body, as well in Creation, as in Death. Speaking of the Creation of Man, the sacred

\* *Vide* Suar. de subst. xxx. p. 213, &c.

cred Text distinguishes between his Soul and Body, when it tells us, *Gen. ii. 7*, that God formed his Body of Earth, and then infused his Soul into it. Nor does it less upon the Death of a Man, when the compounded Being is dissolved, send each Part of him separately to its proper Original. *Then shall the Dust return to Earth, as it was, and the Spirit to God who gave it. Eccl. xii. 7.* And Christ has taught us, *Mat. x. 28.* *That we should not fear them who kill the Body, but are not able to kill the Soul.* And he himself, being about to expire, recommended his Soul into the Hand of God, while his Body hung upon the Cross. *Luke xxiii. 46.*

Moreover, Christ has affirm'd, *Mat. xxii. 23.* that the Souls of *Abraham*, and of the Patriarchs are still alive, (or at least, that they were at that Time.) And gives to pious, or penitent Souls, after they have put off their mortal Body, a Seat in Paradise, or in *Abraham's Bosom*, *Luke xxiii. 43.* but sent the Souls of wicked Men to Hell, or to *Gebenna*. *John xi. 43.* *Moses* and *Elias* appeared in the Transfiguration of Christ, many Ages after they had departed this mortal Life. Christ (*Mat. ix. 25.*) also called back departed Souls to their Bodies, as often as it was his Pleasure, and resumed his own

Body after it had been three Days buried, and ascended into Heaven full of Life, and surrounded with Glory. Thus hath Christ testify'd, by Words, by Deeds, and every Way, that the Souls of Men are distinct from the Body, and remain after Death itself.

That the Dead are said to fall asleep in the sacred Writings \*, does not make against the Immortality of the Soul; for neither does the Soul perish in Sleep, nor cease from all Kind of Action, but the Senses being bound up, is not affected with the external World; which may very well be the Case in the *State of Death*, or in the *separate State*, as it is wont to be called, when we live to God, and to the intellectual World, till we wake again in the Resurrection, and resuming a visible and corporeal Shape, renew our Commerce with the external World, Christ calling us back to it, who is Lord of the Living, and of the Dead. *Rom. xiv. 9.* But this Matter will be spoken of below.

That we may finish this Part of our Discourse, it is to be remarked, That every Man observes the Distinction between the Soul and the Body with Ease, or with Difficulty, according to his Genius, and the Extent of his

\* The sacred Writings shew plainly, that the Dead enjoy a sort of Life peculiar to them, or that the Middle State between Death and the Resurrection of the Body, is a State of Life, whatever that Life is. *1 Theff. v. 10.*



his Capacity. If any one could doubt, which, perhaps, some People may, of the Existence of their own Bodies, and of all external Things, that very Man, notwithstanding this, would be certain of the Existence of his own Soul. Which sufficiently discovers the Body and Soul to be two different Things, and that there is no such Thing, as a necessary Connexion between them. This doubting Man, I say, would be certain still of the Existence of his own Soul, from his very Incertitude and his Doubting; for any Sort of certain Operation, be it what it may, will necessarily demonstrate the Existence of the Thing whose Action or Operation it is. Nor can the most obstinate Scepticks ever arrive at that Degree of Stupidity, as to deny or doubt of their own Existence. Let them take away Motion from the Nature of Things, let them take away Heaven, and the Stars of Heaven, and all the surrounding Objects that strike our Senses, nay, their own Bodies, if it were possible; this thinking, doubting Thing, which denies the Existence of all the rest, will still remain itself; nor can it confound itself with those of whose Existence it doubts. Lastly, The Soul, which after this Manner is distinguished from its own, and from every other Body, is to be accounted

ted an incorporeal Substance, as we said at first: Nor will it be dissolved at the Dissolution of the Body, nor perish when that perishes; but possessing the Life that is proper to it, it remains surviving and immortal, capable of enjoying eternal Felicity, or feeling everlasting Misery.

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### C H A P. III.

*What will be the future Condition of the Soul when the Body is dissolved; or of the Middle State of Souls in the Interval between Death and the Resurrection, as to the Manner and Degrees of Happiness or Misery.*

**H**AVING already proved by Arguments drawn from a thorough Insight into Nature, and from the most evident Doctrines and Testimonies of sacred Authors, that human Souls survive the Extinction of the Bodies; we are next to consider, what kind of Life they are like to enjoy, or in what State they subsist after they are separated from their Bodies. The first Question upon this is, Whether, after they are separated from this Body, they are to inform another, of what kind soever it is? Or, Whether

Whether they are to remain naked, disjointed, and abstracted from all Matter, even to the Resurrection? The Answer to this Question would lead us directly into the Knowledge of the future State of the Soul: But as there is another more general and less obscure, which inquires into the Degrees of Happiness or Misery before the Day of Judgment, I am inclined, to examine, first, by way of Introduction, the Opinions of certain Moderns, who carry the Souls of Men, just after Death, immediately after they have left their Bodies, either directly up to Heaven, to the height of Glory and the beatifick Vision; or thrust them down into the Torments of Hell and unspeakable Misery. Each of these seems to me to be too much in the Extreme.

Among the Protestant Divines there are many who will allow of no Middle State to the Soul, for fear of running into the Notion of *Purgatory*. Thus when we would avoid one bad Extreme, such is the Folly of Mankind, we often run into another as vicious, and as blameable. It is sufficiently known, that the Papistical *Purgatory* is a human Invention, adapted to the Capacity of the People, and the Advantage of the Priests: However, the fear of this Phantom shall not make us desert the Doctrine of the

Antients

Antients concerning the imperfect Happiness or Misery of human Souls before the Day of Judgment. But, as for what relates to the Misery and Punishments of the Wicked, we shall let that pass at present ; it will be sufficient at this Time to shew, that the Opinion of those who are for translating the Souls of the Righteous departed to the Kingdom of Heaven, and that supreme Glory which is called the *Beatifick Vision*, before the Resurrection of the Dead, and the Coming of Christ, is neither agreeable to the Holy Scriptures, nor to the Faith of the primitive Christians.

They who promise themselves or others, that they shall enjoy the beatifick Vision immediately after their Deaths, ought in Reason to shew us some Promise in Scripture that may support so great a Hope: For in these and the like Matters, which flow not immediately from the Nature of Things, but from the Will and Appointment of God, a Hope is rash that is not founded on a divine Promise. Tell me then what sacred Writers are the Witnesses and Prophets of so great a Hope and so sudden a Felicity. In those Places of Holy Writ that assure us we shall one Day see God, such are *Mat. v. 8.* *1 Cor. .xiii. 12.* we are not told that it shall be immediately after Death. We are  
rather

rather told, on the contrary, that it shall not be till Christ shall appear, nor shall it be made manifest to the Sons of God, unless in the Resurrection. *John* iii. 2. *Rom.* viii. 19, 23. *Col.* iii. 4.

Besides, according to the same sacred Oracles, and the Apostolical Writings, the Saints are not to attain to their Glory and their solemn Reward before the coming of Christ, and the Resurrection of the Dead. *St. Peter* promises a Crown of Glory to the faithful Shepherds of Christ, when the Prince of Shepherds shall appear: Neither am I of Opinion that the People will receive their Reward before their Pastor. *St. Paul*, second to none in the Christian Warfare, tells us, *2 Tim.* iv. 8. that he is not to receive his Crown till the Day of the Lord; and that he is persuaded that he shall then at last receive from God the Soul which he has committed to him, together with Eternal Life. *I am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him against THAT DAY.* *2 Tim.* i. 12. And the intermediate Time, between the Day of Death and *that Day*, being silent and inglorious, he seems to set at nought. Which that holy Man would never have done if he had believed that in that Interval of Time we were to enjoy the Fulness of Glo-

ry, and the beatifick Vision. Lastly; When he prays to God (2 *Tim.* i. 18.) to have Mercy on any one, when he promises Joy, or threatens Revenge and Torments, the Apostle is wont to refer them all to *that Day.* 2 *Theff.* i. 7, 8, 9, 10. And yet, if human Souls immediately after their Departure were either to be plunged in unspeakable Torments, or exalted to the Height of Glory, he ought to have referred both the Happiness and the Misery only to the Hour of Death.

Moreover it is to be observed, that whereas the Apostle, like one who is about to lie down, and take his Rest, deposited his Soul into the Hands of God, to be kept by him to that *great Day*; so in the Style of the sacred Writings, the Dead are said *to sleep*, or *to fall asleep*, and *to awaken at last* on the Day of Judgment and of the Resurrection. 1 *Cor.* xv. 6, 18, 20, 51. 1 *Theff.* iv. 13, 14. I know very well these Things are not to be understood altogether in a literal Sense, much less are they to be understood so grossly, as if the Soul after Death were void of Life and of Action; for all the Power of Thinking can never be driven from the Mind of Man; yet, nevertheless, this Manner of speaking can never be applicable to the Condition of those who are in Possession  
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of the beatifick Vision, which both in Divinity and Philosophy is esteemed the most perfect Operation of the Soul, and therefore can never be compared to a Sleep or a Dream, in which the Actions of the Soul are so very far from Perfection.

It is certainly worth while to weigh and consider both these Discourses of St. Paul to the *Corinthians* and *Theſſalonians*, concerning the Hope and State of the Dead. He exhorts the *Theſſalonians* not to grieve immoderately, like Men who are without Hope, for those who are dead, or that *sleep in JESUS*. But with what Argument does the Apostle comfort these, and repel their immoderate Grief? Is it with this that the Souls of the Righteous, as soon as ever they are freed from their Bodies, enter into Heaven, and partake of celestial Glory? This, indeed, had been the greatest Consolation imaginable, and a most present and effectual Remedy. But it is not from this Consideration, nor from the Dead's immediate Possession of Happiness, that he derives the Comfort which he gives to the Living, and the Fomentation which he uses to assuage, but from the certain Hope of a blissful Resurrection, and of a future Return with Christ when he shall come in his Glory, *I would not*, says he, *1 Theſſ.*

iv. 13, 14, 18. *have you to be ignorant, Brethren, concerning them which are asleep, that you sorrow not even as others that have no Hope: For, if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them which sleep in Jesus, will God bring with him.----Wherefore comfort one another with these Words.*

Moreover St. Paul in another Discourse to the *Corinthians*, Chap. xv. 30, 31, 32. seems to argue in such a Manner, as if our whole Hope depended on the Resurrection, that the Life to come would not be worth looking after, unworthy the Labours that we undergo, and the Dangers that we pass through in expecting it, unless we were one Time to rise from the Grave. But if at our Departure from this Life we are to be immediately carried to that beatifick Glory, we shall then be happy; ay, most happy, altho' no Resurrection were to follow. That divine State of the Soul would be the most ample Reward for Virtue, and whatever we have endured in this Life, and it would be the most supreme Felicity to dwell for ever in that celestial Light.

Nevertheless the same Apostle, in the eighth Chapter to the *Romans*, comparing the Sufferings of this present Life, with the Glory that we shall hereafter enjoy, takes no Notice of this *beatifick Vision*, but regards  
the



the Time of the Resurrection only, as if before the Arrival of that Day, the Saints would have no Reward. *Rom. xv. 18.* For *I reckon that the Sufferings of this present Time are not worthy to be compared with the Glory which shall be revealed in us.* But when is this Glory to be revealed in us? Is it to be immediately after Death? No; but when we wait for the Adoption, to wit, the Redemption of the Body, that is, at the Resurrection. And in the second Epistle to the *Corinthians iv. 17.* he says, after the same Manner; *That our light Affliction, which is but for a Moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal Weight of Glory.* For we know, that this *Tabernacle being dissolved*: Well, what follows? That we shall strait ascend up to Heaven to the Enjoyment of the *beatifick Vision*: No, I find nothing like it. Well then, what follows? *We have a Building (2 Cor. v. 1.) of God, a House not made with Hands, eternal in the Heavens*; to wit, the celestial Body, with which we shall then be cloathed. You see, therefore, that in the Christian Doctrine all Things are referred to this: Nor will it be easy to find that there is any *Retribution* besides Peace and Rest, and Comfort of Mind, promised in the Gospel, before either the first or the second Resurrection.

rection. *Mat.* xix. 28, 29. *Acts* iii. 19, 20.  
*2 Theff.* i. 7. *Rev.* xx. 6.

For Brevity sake, I omit other Places which relate to the Point in Question, as *Tit.* ii. 12, 13. *Coloss.* iii. 3, 4. *1 John* iii. 2, 3. Let us now hear the Voice from Heaven. *Rev.* xiv. 13. *Blessed are the Dead who die in the Lord.* But why blessed? Is it because they are immediately to enjoy the *beatifick Vision*? I find nothing at all like this in the Prophet: What then do we find in him? *For they rest from their Labours, and their Works follow them,* which at length will be their Reward. *2 Cor.* v. 5. *Heb.* ix. 23, 28. *1 Cor.* i. 7. This is the established Order of Things; this, and no other, is the Beatitude we are to expect. We assert then, according to the Decrees of the Christian Religion, that the Felicity of departed Saints will arise, either from the Hope of future Glory, or from Rest and eternal Joy, till that happy Day shall shine forth, wherein Christ will raise them from the Dead, make them like the Angels in Glory, and conformable to himself.

What we read farther in the sacred Story of the Dead being recalled to Life, and of the Seats and Receptacles of Souls answers to this Explication. For can any one believe that Christ tore *Lazarus* from the  
*beati-*

*beatifick Vision*, and forced him to come back into this miserable Life; or that *Abraham's Bosom*, into which we read, that the other *Lazarus* was translated, was the same Place with the Kingdom of Heaven, and the *beatifick Vision* of God; or that the Souls that cry from under the Altar, or that the Faithful, in their imperfect State, can bear the Splendor of celestial Light, and dwell in eternal Glory? *Rev. vi. Heb. xi. 39, 40.* If upon these Passages we consult the Fathers, they will answer quite otherwise. Lastly; when Christ carry'd the Soul of the Thief with him into Paradise, he carry'd him not into the supreme Heaven, nor into the Place of the *beatifick Vision* of God; for he ascended not thither himself till the third Day after his Death; nor do ancient Writers, either \* *Jews* or *Christians* give that Interpretation to the Word *Paradise*. All these Things if we weigh with a free Mind, and follow what the Light of the sacred Writings does easily lead us into; and turn not on any Account from this Path, or move a Step beyond it, we must say, or rather repeat, *Blessed are the Dead who die in the Lord*, even at present blessed,  
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\* The *Jews* suppose the Happiness of the Dead to be imperfect till the Day of Judgment. Vide *Pocock. Notmisc.* c. vi. p. 176.

because they enjoy Peace, and Rest, and Comfort; and will be hereafter transcendantly blessed, when, upon the second coming of Christ, having put on their glorify'd Bodies, they shall enjoy the ravishing Sight of God, in an inexpressible Manner.

Nor is it any Objection to our Opinion, that St. Paul hath said, *That if he dy'd he should be present with Christ*; and, as it were, at home with the Lord: *Phil. i. 23. 2 Cor. v. 8.* For whatever Presence you can suppose that the Apostle means here, whether the visible and corporeal one, or the spiritual and internal one; neither of them will at all weaken our Cause. If the Apostle means the corporeal Presence, he means it from the Time of the Resurrection, the Interval of Rest between Death and that being accounted as Nothing: For Souls being separated from their Bodies, and from all Matter, cannot, during that State, have any corporeal or external Presence with Christ: This is, from the very Nature of the Thing, impossible. If therefore, the Apostle means this corporeal Presence, the Time of Separation, or, that I may use his own Term, of *Obdormition*, is reckoned by him as Nothing. But by Reason of the Certainty of the Thing, and the insensible Delay, he joins the Resurrection immediately.

ately together with Death. And I am the less averse to this Explication, when I observe the Apostle's Opinion, in several Places of his Epistles, of the Approaching and sudden Coming of Christ. Besides, in the first Verse of this Chapter to the *Corinthians*, he has joined the Time of throwing off the terrestrial Body, with that of putting on the celestial Body, making no Account of the intermediate Time: *For we know*, saith he, *2 Cor. v. 1. Heb. ix. 23. that if our earthly House of this Tabernacle were dissolved, we have a Building of God, an House not made with Hands, eternal in the Heavens*: Where he immediately joins the Dissolution of this mortal Body with the Assumption of the other, though more than Fifteen hundred Years are passed since the Death of *St. Paul*, and he has not yet his celestial Body. But the imperceptible Time, in which no Alteration either happens, or can possibly happen to the Matter depending, is to be looked on as Nothing. Besides, the Apostle has said in that Chapter, ver. 4. to the *Corinthians*, that he would not be *uncloathed, but cloathed upon*, that is, that he would not be divested of his present Body; but here to the *Philippians* he says, *that he desires to depart, or to be dismissed from his Body*. But this last Saying is to be so temper'd and

explain'd that it may not be repugnant or contradictory to the other. And if this Phrase, *to be with the Lord*, is used by the Apostle, *Eph. ii. 6.* in the same Sense that he used it in other Places; *and so shall we ever be with the Lord, 1 Thess. iv. 17. Eph. iv. 10.* we must necessarily conclude, that the same Time, and the same State of the Resurrection is to be understood in both\*. Lastly; We must observe from the Nature of the Thing, that Christ has already ascended above the highest Heavens cloathed with his glorious Body; and that the Saints cannot possibly ascend thither, or inhabit there, till they have likewise put on their celestial Bodies; which being granted to none before the Resurrection, unless to those who are rapt up to Heaven like *Enoch*, neither the Reason of the Thing, nor established Order, nor divine Dispensation, will allow us to expound these Sayings of the Apostle, as meant of the local and corporeal Presence.

If therefore, you are more willing to understand here the spiritual and internal Presence of Christ, I am not against it. The Saints even in this Life, are in this Manner

\* It is certain that when Christ was about to ascend into Heaven, he did not promise his Disciples that he would receive them to himself before his Return to the Earth.

ner present with Christ, and will be present with him in the Life to come after several Manners: By all which, according to this Interpretation, the Souls of the Righteous may be said to be present with Christ after his Death. First, They may be said to be with Christ, as they will be under the Guardianship and Protection of Christ; for Christ being about to expire, recommended his Soul into the Hands of his Father, that is, into the Custody and Protection of his Father, *Luke xxiii. 46.* But when Christ by dying had conquered Death, and so was become the Lord both of Life and of Death, *St. Stephen* expiring, deposited his Soul into the Hands of Christ, and dying, cry'd out, *Lord Jesus receive my Spirit. Acts vii. 59.* After the same Manner the Soul of *St. Paul* would be with Christ, deposited with him, and in his Protection to the Day of the Resurrection. Again, the Souls of the Saints are said to be with Christ after his Death, by Reason of the internal Consolation and Joy which they receive from Christ: For since Christ came into the World and became victorious over Death, I make no Doubt but he has made a great Accession to the Comfort and Felicity of those who are dead in him, as well from the Influx of divine Virtue, as from the most

certain Hope, and, as it were the ravishing Prospect of a glorious Resurrection : And therefore, in the Interval between Death and the Resurrection, it is rightly said, that Christ is with us, and that we are living, and present with him. Lastly ; In this Manner of speaking, there is a Regard to be had to the Opposition, as is evident from both the Passages to the *Philippians* and *Corinthians*. To be with Christ, and to be in this World, are each opposed to the other : When we go out of the World, we are not extinguished, we are not abolished, or annihilated. What are we then ? We are with God, we are with Christ ; we live to God, we are present with Christ, who will bring us back to the Stage of the World, full of Life and Spirit. *Luke xx. 38. Col. iii. 3, 4.*

There is no wonder then that *St. Paul* should say, *Death is Gain to me* : We ought rather to wonder that so great an Apostle should say so very little. He who in this Life had gone through so many Calamities and Disquiets, so many Fatigues and so many Dangers ; who had endured Hunger, and Thirst, and Cold, and Nakedness, and Stripes, and Beatings, Imprisonments, and Stoning, and Shipwreck ; all kinds of Evils, all kinds of Hardships both by Sea and  
by



by Land, that he should pronounce Death more desirable than this present Life, is not at all to be wondered at. If Death were nothing but Rest, and a Truce from the Evils and Calamities of this present World, it would still be preferable to Life. Let us, little Wretches as we are, learn to know our selves better, and think more modestly of the Rewards we are to look for, than to promise our selves and others the Enjoyment of the *beatifick Vision*, as soon as ever our Eyes are closed; when the great Apostle of the Gentiles, who, if ever any Man deserved highly of the Christian Religion, certainly it was he, seems to promise himself nothing so great and so desirable. Let us be contented in that middle World, if I may have Leave to call it so, with far less Enjoyments; yet, let us not think it a small Thing, that the Soul being conscious to itself of its Immortality, and breathing forth nothing but divine Love, should acquiesce in God and itself, having at the same Time a joyful and lively Hope of the coming of Christ, and the Glory which it is to partake with him.

Lastly; Let me add this, that they seem to me to weaken and overthrow the Christian Doctrine of the Resurrection, and as it were, render the Resurrection itself useless,

less, who allow that Souls enjoy the *beatifick Vision*, and a State of Glory immediately after Death: For what need is there of a Body to Souls already established in the supreme Light of Heaven? You will, perhaps, say, that the Body may participate of the Glory and the Reward, as it was once a Partaker of the Calamities which the Soul endured in this Life, or of the good Works, which is wrought. You trifle with me: The Soul of every Man is the Man: *It is the Soul that sees, and the Soul that bears.* The Body perceives nothing of Good or Evil: Matter neither enjoys Pleasure, nor is affected with Grief; turn it which way you will, and join it to what you will, in vain you may endeavour to crown with Glory a Lump of senseless Clay, or make that the Author of Good or Evil, which is equally void of Understanding and Will: Besides, of so many Bodies which, in the Course of this Life, we wear out, at least one in every seven Years, which will you bestow on the Soul, to be the Partner and the Partaker of its Glory, and its Reward? Of what Age shall this Body be? a young or an old one, a blooming or a decrepit one? The Body that the Soul shook off the last, or that in which it exceedingly rejoiced and was pleased? And for what Reason will you  
 choose

choose one rather than the other? The rest will put in their Claims, that they may come in for their Share of the Happiness. If any Person should all his Life-time, lead the Life of a true Christian, now suffering Death for the Sake of Christ, and now bestowing his Goods in Charity; and this Man at last should go out of the World an old Martyr of eighty Years, which of this Man's Bodies will you receive into Glory? Must we not answer as Christ did formerly, when he was ask'd, which of all her seven Husbands a certain Woman should enjoy in the Resurrection? *viz. Ye err, not knowing the Scriptures, nor the Power of God.* It is not for the Sake of the Body; but of the Soul, that the Resurrection is appointed; and God gives to every Soul, as he gives to every Seed, a proper and apt Body, the former being putrify'd in the Earth. *This Tabernacle being dissolved, we shall have a Building from God.* 1 Cor. xv. 37, 38. 2 Cor. v. 1. But more of this below: Let us now proceed in what we proposed.

We have said, that the Strength of the Resurrection is enervated by the Supposition, that Souls may enjoy supreme Felicity before the Arrival of that Day. For St. *Augustin* makes a very just Enquiry,  
*What*

*What Occasion there is that the Souls of Men should receive their Bodies upon the Resurrection, if they are capable of supreme Felicity without any Bodies at all? And therefore, among the Antients, and in the first Ages of the Church, those Hereticks who deny'd the Resurrection of the Body, were either the only Persons who maintain'd the Enjoyment of supreme Felicity by the Souls of Men immediately after they had left their Bodies, or the Persons who maintained it with greatest Earnestness, as we shall shew beneath. But who is not sensible, that in these latter Ages, this new Article of Faith was introduced into the *Romish* Church, by the politick Designs of their crafty Priests, that a more commodious Handle might be given to the Invocation of Saints, and other Institutions of that Kind, and a powerful Protection to the rest of those gainful Doctrines that attend upon this new Article? *Bellarmino*, [ *De Beat. Sanct. Ord. Disput.* ] has very justly observed, that this new Doctrine is the Foundation of all the Doctrines that relate to the Saints, that is, those which concern the Worship of Saints, the Canonization of Saints, the Images and Reliques of Saints; and lastly, the Pilgrimages, and solemn Vows that are made to them. You see how weighty*

weighty a Chain of Silver and Gold this Doctrine draws along with it : To which, if you add Purgatory, or the Condition in which the Souls of Men are, that ascend not directly to Heaven, but that are sooner or later carried thither by the Assistance and Prayers of the living Saints, you have a Mine of Gold more rich and inexhaustible than any in either *Indies* : But Woe be to all those Wretches, who thus adulterate the Word of God, 2 *Cor.* ii. 17.

Nevertheless those Men do not deserve this Censure, who without the Hope of any Gain, comfort the Dying, as if they were immediately to ascend to Heaven ; and to the Enjoyment of supreme Felicity. They go from a Prison to taste of grateful Liberty ; and the Things that are said to them through a pious Compassion, in order to lessen the Terrors of Death, are not, like so many Articles of Faith, to be explained with Rigour. The Souls of the Righteous, as soon as they depart this Life, are in a Place of Safety, secure from Smart, secure from Pain, and from the Danger of Sinning : And though as yet they enjoy not the external Heavens, and the Kingdom prepared for them from the Foundation of the World, yet have they an hereditary and indefeasible Right to it ; and therefore, they

may be said, by an easy Anticipation, to possess it already. We are all of us in haste to take Possession of our Inheritance, and we are carried by a natural Impetuosity to the Enjoyment of that Glory and that Felicity which we so impatiently desire. Many of the first Christians believed that the coming of Christ was even then approaching, as it is most evident from the Apostolical Epistles, and from the antient Fathers; and those first Christians, strengthened and animated by that Belief, bore Persecution and painful Deaths, with the more undaunted Spirit. But the Course of Years having naturally detected this Error, let us not, I beseech you, fall into another; let us not seem to be pulling the unwilling Heaven to us, and as *Irenæus* says, *lib. v. c. 31. stepping over the Order of the Promotion of the Just*, seem rather to invade those Heavens, than to receive them as our Inheritance. At length the Evening of the World is come, Christ is at hand, and even at our Doors; we therefore, want no Consolation but this: *Behold I come quickly, and bring my Reward along with me, that I may render to every one according to his Works, Amen. Even so, Lord Jesus, come. O Death, where is thy Sting? O Grave, where is thy Victory?*

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These Things are briefly shewn in the sacred Writings, concerning the State of the Dead. Besides, it used, in Matters of Controversy, to be of no small Weight with most People, to enquire into the Faith of primæval and uncorrupted Antiquity. For, tho' we attribute Infallibility to no Mortals in any Age whatever, the Apostles alone excepted, neither to the first Ages of Christianity, nor to the Middle, nor to the Modern; yet, when the Christian Religion was not as yet degenerated into Artifice, nor grown up to Empire, Christians with more Simplicity and Sincerity followed the Naked Truth. It will, therefore, be worth our while, briefly to enquire what was the Opinion of the antient Christians concerning the immediate Beatitude of the Saints; or concerning the State in which they who depart this Life are, before the Time of the Resurrection.

Rivers are wont to be the purer, the nearer they are to their Fountains, and the nearer the Christian Fathers come to the Apostles, or the Apostolick Times, the more approved and more unexceptionable Witnesses of orthodox Faith are they esteemed to be. And therefore, though I make no Doubt, but that the *Greek* Fathers generally speaking, were of our Side in the present Cause, it will be sufficient in his Chapter to inquire into the

three first Ages of the Church, in which, if I am not mistaken, you will find neither *Greek* nor *Latin*, unless the Hereticks, and perhaps *St. Cyprian* only, who transferred the Souls of the Dead, as soon as ever they had left their Bodies, to the Enjoyment of the *beatifick Vision*, and the Possession of celestial Glory; that is, in the same Manner as it has been decreed in the latter Ages by the Church of *Rome*.

That this was the Opinion of numerous Hereticks in the first Ages of the Church, who at the same Time deny'd the Resurrection of the Body, is apparent from *Justin Martyr*, *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, and several others. *Justin Martyr* has these Words in the Dialogue with *Tryphon*: “ Never believe  
 “ that those can be Christians who deny the  
 “ Resurrection of the Body, and affirm, that  
 “ their Souls, as soon as ever they die, are  
 “ carried up into Heaven.” Observe how these two are joined together by *Justin*, as if there were some Relation between them; at least, the same Hereticks who deny'd the Resurrection of the Body, transferred their Souls to the Heaven of Heavens as soon as ever they had left their Bodies.

To this Place of *St. Justin* we receive Light from *Irenæus*, who, in the Thirty-first Chapter of his fifth Book, attributes at once  
 both



both Errors to the Hereticks of that Age.  
“ But because, *says he*, some of those who  
“ are believed to be Orthodox, step over the  
“ Order of the Promotion of the Just, and  
“ are ignorant of the Means of meditating  
“ on Incorruptibility, being possessed with  
“ an heretical Spirit. ----- For the Hereticks  
“ beholding on every Side the wonderful  
“ Workmanship of God; yet not looking  
“ up to the Salvation of their Bodies, but  
“ contemning the Promise of God, say,  
“ *that as soon as ever they shall die, they*  
“ *immediately ascend up to Heaven, and to*  
“ *the Creator of all Things, and shall go to*  
“ *the Mother, or to him whom they pretend*  
“ *to be the Father.* ---- What Wonder then  
“ is it, if they, who believe no Resurrection  
“ at all, should be ignorant of the Order of  
“ it? Those Persons are wilfully blind; for  
“ if what they affirm were true, then cer-  
“ tainly our Lord, in whom they say, they  
“ believe, had never risen again the third  
“ Day, but, expiring on the Cross, had im-  
“ mediately gone up to Heaven, leaving his  
“ Body below, &c.” This is certainly evi-  
dent from the primitive Fathers, and from  
the other Authors who have wrote about  
Heresies, that the antient Hereticks, the  
*Gnosticks*, the *Basilians*, the *Valentinians*,  
the *Marcionites*, and the rest of that Rab-  
ble,

ble, were the first Authors, and the first Maintainers of the Opinion which we refute.

We are acquainted in the mean time with the Opinion both of *Justin* and *Irenæus* in this Argument. You see that they do not immediately thrust Souls up to Heaven, and to the Seats of Glory, while they are yet warm, from the Body. *Justin* likewise testifies the same Thing in another Place, that is, in his Dialogue with *Tryphon*. “ The  
 “ Souls of the Righteous after their Deaths,  
 “ are in a better Mansion than they were  
 “ before it; but the Unrighteous and Wick-  
 “ ed in a worse, waiting till the Time of  
 “ Judgment comes at length.” *Irenæus*,  
 to the End of the Chapter we before quoted, follows the same Opinion. “ If there-  
 “ fore, *says he*, our Lord observed the Law of  
 “ the Dead, that he might become the First-  
 “ born from the Dead; and having staid  
 “ even to the third Day in the inward Parts  
 “ of the Earth, then rising in the Flesh,  
 “ that he might shew the Marks of the  
 “ Nails to his Disciples, ascended thus to  
 “ the Father; how can it be but that they  
 “ must be confounded, who assert that Hell  
 “ is the World in which we dwell; but that  
 “ their inward Man, as soon as it leaves their  
 “ Body, shall ascend up to a Place above  
 “ the highest Heaven? For since the Lord,  
 “ in

“ in the Midst of the Shadow of Death,  
“ departed to the Place where the Souls of  
“ the Dead were, and after that corporeally  
“ rose again, and after his Resurrection was  
“ taken up into Heaven; it is manifest, that  
“ for that Reason the Souls of his Disciples,  
“ for whose Sake the Lord performed all  
“ this, shall likewise, after their Deaths, go  
“ into an invisible Place which God has  
“ prepared and preordained for them; and  
“ shall there remain till the Time of the  
“ Resurrection, and there waiting for the  
“ Resurrection; and after that receiving Bo-  
“ dies, and perfectly, that is, corporeally  
“ rising again, as the Lord himself rose again,  
“ shall thus be brought to the Enjoyment of  
“ the Sight of God.” \*

Something like this Explication of *Ire-  
naeus*, taken from the Example of Christ,  
is in the Forty-fifth Chapter of *Tertullian's*  
Treatise of the Soul, which Passages illuf-  
trate and confirm each other.

“ For, says he, if Christ, who was God  
“ as well as Man, being dead, according to  
“ the Scriptures, and buried according to  
“ the same, paid exact Obedience to this  
“ Law,

\* There is something very like this, in a Discourse upon human Life, and the Dead, by *Andreas*, a *Cretensian* Archbishop. But he, I believe, was of the sixth Century. The Discourse was printed at *Leyden*, in 1619, in *Quarto*.  
B B. ox.

“ Law, descending formally like the Souls  
 “ of Men into the lower Parts of the Earth ;  
 “ nor ascended into the Heaven of Heavens,  
 “ before he descended into the lower Parts  
 “ of the Earth, that there he might bless  
 “ the Patriarchs and Prophets with the  
 “ Sight which they had so long desired ; you  
 “ have Reason from this to believe the fore-  
 “ said subterranean Region, and to insult  
 “ those who are so foolishly proud, as to be-  
 “ lieve the Souls of the Faithful too good for  
 “ the foresaid subterranean Region ; Servants  
 “ more proud than their Lord, and Disci-  
 “ ples more haughty than their Master, if  
 “ they disdain to be comforted in the Bo-  
 “ som of *Abraham*, by the certain Hope  
 “ and Expectation of a glorious Resurrecti-  
 “ on.” Then, in the same Chapter below,  
 he says in plainer Terms : “ Heaven can be  
 “ open to none, so long as Earth remains en-  
 “ tire, and, as one may say, shut up ; for  
 “ the Destruction of the Earth alone, can  
 “ open the Gates of Heaven to us.” And  
 at the End of the same Chapter, quoting  
 his own Treatise of *Paradise*, the Loss of  
 which has been no little Loss to us, he says,  
 “ That it was his Opinion, that every Soul  
 “ was sequestered in that infernal Region a-  
 “ gainst the Day of the Lord.” And in se-  
 veral Passages of this Treatise of the Soul, he

“ repeats

repeats the same Thing, though in other Words. Nor does he say less in other Places, as in his *Apologetick*: “And if at any  
 “Time we mention Paradise, a Place of  
 “divine Delightfulness, prepared for the  
 “Reception of the Souls of the Righteous,  
 “at the same Time we mean not Heaven.”  
 And in the fourth Book against *Marcion*:  
 “That Region I call *Abraham’s Bosom*;  
 “a Place, though not of celestial Height,  
 “yet higher than the infernal Region which  
 “we mentioned before, adapted to afford  
 “Refreshment to the Souls of the Righte-  
 “ous, ’till the Consummation of all Things  
 “compleats the Fulness of their Reward in  
 “consequence of their Resurrection.” You  
 may see more like this, if you please to con-  
 sult his *Treatise of the Resurrection of the*  
*Flesh*, Chap. xxiii. But we need say no  
 more of *Tertullian*, since no Body doubts  
 of his Opinion concerning the Point in dis-  
 pute.

Of the same Opinion of the Fathers, as  
 well of the Old, as of the New Testament,  
 whom I mentioned before, is *Origen*, con-  
 cerning the Souls of the Saints. He gives  
 them an inferior Degree of Happiness ’till  
 the Time of the Resurrection. You will  
 find his Opinion in his seventh Homily upon  
*Leviticus*, in the following Words: “For

“ even the Apostles themselves have not  
 “ hitherto obtained their Fulness of Joy ;  
 “ but they are still in Expectation, that I  
 “ may become a Partaker of their Felicity.”  
 And he proves this by the Authority of St.  
*Paul*, the great Instructor of the *Gentiles*;  
 in the 11th Chapter to the *Hebrews*, and  
 adds, “ You see, therefore, that *Abraham*  
 “ still waits, expecting to obtain Perfection :  
 “ *Isaac* and *Jacob* expect the same Thing,  
 “ and all the awful Society of the Pro-  
 “ phets expects us, that, together with us,  
 “ they may receive complete Felicity.”

Towards the End of the third Century,  
*Victorinus* the Martyr and *Laëtantius* lived,  
 who were both Maintainers of our Cause.  
 The Words of *Laëtantius*, in the seventh  
 Book of his Institutions are known : “ Nor  
 “ let any one believe that the Souls of the  
 “ Dead shall immediately be brought to  
 “ Judgment : For all of them are detained  
 “ in one common Custody, ’till the Time  
 “ shall come when the sovereign Judge of  
 “ the World shall examine all their Me-  
 “ rits ; then they whose Righteousness shall  
 “ be approved of, shall receive the Reward  
 “ of a blissful Immortality.” In like Man-  
 ner *Victorinus*, upon *Revel.* vi. 9. concern-  
 ing the Souls that are under the Altar, after  
 he had observed that the external Altar, not  
 the

the Internal, that is Heaven, was to be understood here, there it is his Opinion, that the Souls must attend 'till the coming of the Last Day, the Day of the Distribution of Rewards and Punishments. “ But, because, “ *says he*, in that last Time the Saints will find “ a perpetual Recompence, and the wicked “ perpetual Damnation, therefore they are “ commanded to WAIT ; and for their bodily Comfort, they have received, *says he*, “ white Garments, that is, the Gift of the “ Holy Ghost.

Besides, when several of the most antient Fathers, if not, indeed, all of them, were of Opinion that the Souls of Men, after their Deaths descended *in Act*, to *Hades*, they declared by that, that it was their Opinion, that they were not immediately to be carried up to the Heaven of Heavens, and to the Enjoyment of the supreme Glory : For though *Hades*, with relation to separate Souls, as well the Just as Unjust, is of a large Signification, yet none of them ever said, that any of the Souls that descended thither, enjoyed the *beatifick Vision* there. Since then the antient Fathers placed all the Souls that had left their Bodies there, they by That exclude them all, as long as they remain there, from the Felicity of that glorious Vision. We have now done with *Justin, Irenæus,* and

*Tertullian*, having shewn that from the Descent of Christ to *Hades*, they proved that all the Souls of Men must descend thither, *since the Disciple*, say they, *is not above his Master*. And from this very Argument reversed, *Marcarius* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, explaining the Incarnation of Christ to a Philosopher in the *Nicene Council*, shews, that he descended to *Hades*, that he might be in all Things like unto us. *As we were all of us carried after Death to Hades, he accepted of this Condition, and voluntarily went to the same Place*. From whence he says, that he made the same Resurrection from Death that we did. And he afterwards adds to this, and the other Things that are mentioned in the same Chapter, *viz. This is the apostolical and unblameable Faith of the Church*. And what *Eustathius* the Patriarch of *Antioch*, says in *Theodoret*, upon that Passage in the Psalmist, *Thou wilt not leave my Soul in Hades*, has a relation to this, where he calls *Hades* the Place that was the Receptacle of human Souls, and where he proves that the Soul of Christ was truly a human Soul; because that as well in this Life as in the other, it underwent the common Fate of Humanity: *But the Soul of Jesus had a Trial of both States: For he was in the Place of human Souls, and*  
*being*



being without Flesh lived and existed, his rational Part [Soul] being like the Souls of Men. Lastly; In the old Fragment concerning the Cause of all Things, whether the Author of it be Caius, or some other very antient Christian, it is more than once asserted, that the Souls both of the Righteous and of the Wicked are retained in Hades. Thus he begins: *And this is the Discourse concerning the Angels; but of Hades, in which the Spirits of the Just and Unjust are detained, it is necessary to speak.* And thus he afterwards distinguishes their several Mansions: *The Just indeed are now detained in Hades, but not in the same Place where the Unjust are; for there is one Entrance to this Place, of which the Gate, &c.* where he places Angels as so many Guards, who separate the Souls as they enter, and either send or conduct them severally to the Seat they deserve, to the Region that is fitting for them, to the Place that is due to them. Lastly; He affirms, that they remain there till the Time of the Resurrection. *This is the Discourse concerning Hades, in which the Souls of Men are retained 'till the Time preordained by God, who when that comes, will raise them up all together.*

Thus have we these Authors, who lived before the End of the third Century, as  
 Witnesses

Witnesses of the primitive Doctrine of the Church concerning the Souls in *Hades*: To which we may add two *Cæsarean* Bishops, I believe of a later, but of a very uncertain Age; I mean *Andrew*, and *Ara-thas*, who from the Commentaries of *Andrew* upon the *Revelations*, collected those which he purloined himself. And thus they both of them write: *Death is the Separation of the Soul, and the Body; but Hades is the Country to us invisible; that flies from our Enquiry, and hides itself from our Knowledge, and that receives our Souls as soon as they depart from our Bodies.* Lastly; The forementioned Bishops, concerning the Souls that cry from under the Altar in the sixth Chapter of the *Revelations*, confirm the same Things, and are utterly and wholly averse to the *Romish* Opinion concerning the *beatifick Vision*, as appears by the following Passage. “ It is for  
 “ this Reason that the Saints are seen to de-  
 “ fire with Impatience the Consummation  
 “ of the World, because they are command-  
 “ ed to wait ’till then, and to bear the De-  
 “ lay ’till the Death of all their Brethren,  
 “ that they may not, according to the di-  
 “ vine Apostle, be made perfect before them.  
 “ In the mean Time the white Garments,  
 “ which they have on, intimate the Splen-  
 “ dor

“ dor of those Virtues, which in them shine  
“ so illustrious; with which being surrounded  
“ ed, though they have not as yet obtained  
“ the Performance of the Promises, yet the  
“ very Hope of that Happiness, which they  
“ view with a spiritual Eye, causes them  
“ justly to rejoice; especially since, in the  
“ mean Time, they are freed from the De-  
“ filement of Matter, and in the Bosom of  
“ *Abraham*, free from all Disturbance, take  
“ their pleasing and their lasting Repose:  
“ For many of the Saints are of Opinion,  
“ that every one who in his Life-time has  
“ endeavoured with all his Power to im-  
“ prove himself in Virtue, shall find after  
“ Death a Place that is worthy of his Acti-  
“ ons; from whence they may make a  
“ certain Conjecture at the Glory that is  
“ prepared for them.” And thus much  
concerning *Hades*, according to what the  
most antient Authors have said of it, which  
they agreed to be the common Receptacle  
of departed Souls, even 'till the Resurrec-  
tion.

Lastly; To confirm the Truth of every  
Thing that has been said, it is worth our  
while to consider with what Modesty, with  
what Moderation, the blessed Martyr *Poly-  
carpe*, *Clemens*, *Romanus*, and *Ignatius*,  
have spoke of the Residence and the State  
of

of the Saints, from the Time of their Resurrection. They assert not, That they are immediately received into the highest Heaven, to the Enjoyment of the *beatifick Vision*; but, says *Polycarpe*, εἰς τόπον αὐτοῖς οὐρεῖσθαι, *to a Place appointed for them; or, that is proper for them; or \* into a Holy Station as Clemens Romanus said of St. Paul, so he left the World and went to a sacred Place.* He afterwards calls that *the Place of the Righteous*, in the same Epistle. [Epist. sua ad Phil.] But that Passage chiefly deserves our Consideration, where he says, that all from *Adam* to this Day, who have died perfected in Charity and Virtue, rest in the Regions of the Good, as in their proper Repositories, 'till on the coming of Christ at the Day of the Resurrection, they shall be brought forth into open Light. *All the Ages of the World, from Adam even unto this Day, are passed away: But they who have been made perfect in Love, have by the Grace of God, obtained a Place among the Righteous; and shall be made manifest in the Judgment of the Kingdom of Christ. For it is written, [Isa. xxvi. 20.] Enter into thy Chambers for a little Space, 'till my*  
*Anger*

\* They were not received up into Heaven or Glory, but into a Place that was due to them, says *Clemens*, Ep. c. 5. *Le Clerc* quotes him on *Mat. xvii. 18.*

*Anger and Indignation shall pass away : And I will remember the good Day, and will raise you up out of your Graves.* All these Things exactly agree with the Opinion I am contending for : And the same Place that *Justin* calls *the Place of the Righteous*, *Clemens* terms *a better Place*, and other Writers *fit Places* ; and what *Polycarpe* phrases *a Place appointed for them* *Ignatius* calls *their proper Place* ; what *Clemens* the *Holy Place*, *Chrysofome* calls *the sacred Gates*. These Things agree perfectly well together, and answer exactly to that Temperament in which the sacred Writings tell us, that the Souls of departed Saints enjoy Felicity before the Resurrection. Thus when Christ speaks of the State of the Righteous, who are at rest in the Bosom of *Abraham*, he calls that Rest *Paraklesin*, *Luke* xvi. 25. a Comfort only, and not a supreme Glory ; which in other Places of Scripture is called *Repose* and *Relaxation*, and is compared to a pleasing *Slumber*. Behold here the Style of the *Holy Spirit*, and of the apostolick Writers ! Behold, on the other Side, the Style of the *Romish Church* ! that tells us, that the Souls of Saints, after they leave the Body, are immediately taken up into Heaven, and there clearly see God, as he is in *Trinity* and

Unity! Good God! from whence have they taken this Doctrine? from what Book of the sacred Scriptures? or from what Remains of the primitive Church? When Christ was about to die, he said to his Disciples, *John xiv. 23. I go to prepare a Place for you; and if I go to prepare a Place for you, I will return, and take you to myself, that where I am, there ye may also be.* You see, therefore, that this glorious Place, this Place prepared for them by Christ, is not to be possessed before the coming of Christ; and that then, at last, according to his Prayer to the Father, the Saints shall dwell together with Christ, and shall behold his Glory. *I shall be satisfied, O Lord, when I awake, with the Sight of thy Countenance. John xvii. Psal. xvii. 15.*

Besides, it is neither agreeable to Scripture, nor to the Light of Nature, to exact extreme Punishments, or expect supreme Rewards, before the Matter is brought to Judgment, and the Merits of the Cause considered. But the Scripture makes mention of no Judgment before the End of the World. *That is the Day in which God will judge the World by Christ. Acts xvii. 31.* Then at last, *Every one's Work shall be tried. 1 Cor. iii. 13, 14, 15.* Then, every one shall receive according to what he has done

done in the Body. 2 Cor. v. 10. Then, the Thrones will be placed, then the Books will be opened, and every Man will be judged according to his Works. Revel. xx. 11. 12, 13. Then the Just will be separated from the Unjust, the Sheep from the Goats; those being placed on the Right, and these on the Left, and both of them receive their Sentence. These Things we have received from the Mouth of Christ himself: But, when the Son of Man shall come in his Glory, and all the Holy Angels with him, then shall he sit on the Throne of his Glory; and before him shall be gathered all Nations: And he shall separate them one from another, as a Shepherd divideth his Sheep from the Goats: And he shall set the Sheep on his Right Hand, but the Goats on his Left. Then shall the King say unto them on his Right Hand, Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you, from the Foundation of the World. Then shall he say also to them on the Left Hand, Depart from me ye Cursed into Everlasting Fire, prepared for the Devil and his Angels. Mat. xxv. 31, 32, &c. So that here you have the Time of Judgment, and likewise the Manner of it, and the Sentence that is given in order to the Execution. And all these

Things shall be when the Son of Man shall come.

But all this, you will say, is to be understood of a general Judgment: But there is besides a private and particular Judgment, which is appointed to be immediately after every Man's Death; and which is passed upon every Soul as soon as it leaves its Body. Produce the Places of Scripture, if you please, where these Things are testify'd, let me see the Validity of them; and whether, or not, they clearly prove a private and particular Judgment before the last solemn one? The Passages that we have quoted are plain, and clearer than the Light itself; nor do they give us the least Hint of a previous Judgment, but rather exclude it. Now in Things that depend upon the Will of God, and upon divine Revelation, we ought not at pleasure to invent a new Order, and a new Dispensation of Things, only to serve an Hypothesis. We may justly, indeed, say this, that every Soul, when it leaves the Body, undergoes a private and a silent Judgment, as far as it is conscious to itself of a Life ill spent, or spent in Virtue; and carries in itself its own Witness, and its own Sentence; and, according as it is by this disposed and affected,



fected, feels the Deity angry with it, or favourable to it; and has, as it were, a near and clear View of its impending Fate. But all this passes in the Soul itself, and from no external Influence: The Soul in the mean Time remains in the same Place, and the same State and Habitude even 'till the Resurrection\*.

We observed before that the *Romish* Church by thus anticipating the Glory of the Saints, makes the Resurrection to be of no Validity or Utility; nor does it less, by the same Anticipation, make the general Judgment superfluous. For if every Individual has been already judged according to his Works, if the Just are already separated from the Unjust; and the Just are already blest in the Enjoyment of Heaven, and of the ravishing Sight of God, while the others groan under insupportable Torments, both from without and within, what room is there for a future Judgment?  
Why

\* Nor yet can any one believe that Souls come to Judgment immediately after Death. For they are all of them in one common Custody, detained 'till the Time shall come, in which the sovereign Judge shall inquire into their Merits. *Lactantius, lib. vii. cap. xxi. p. 653.* *Genebrardus* too is quoted enumerating many of the Fathers, who did not believe that Souls would enjoy the *beatifick Vision* before the Resurrection; who at the same Time excuses Pope *John XXII.* *Gassend de Animorum Immort. Tom. ii. M. p. 654. Col. ii. ult.*

Why the same Thing over again? Why is a Cause, that has been already determined, brought a second Time to a Hearing? What, is it brought to a Rehearing, lest there should have been an Error in the first Determination? Or are the Damn'd to appeal to some superior Judge? Not so; you'll say, but that the Justice and Equity of a Sentence privately given, may be apparent to all the World. Right, if the Party aggrieved brought any Complaint: But you suppose that all the Damn'd are Self-convicted, and suffer by their own Sentence; and it seems something of the latest to enquire into the Justice of their Punishments; after they have groan'd under them for several Ages. Nor is it less absurd, on the other Side, to enquire into their Right, who can plead Prescription for the Enjoyment of Heaven, by the Possession not only of one Age, but, perhaps, of a thousand Years.

That we may return from the last Judgment to the Resurrection; it will be worth while to enquire of what Advantage the Resurrection can be to us, according to the Popish Theology. They affirm that the Beatitude of Souls will not be more intense after the Resurrection, than it is before it; and take it for a Thing determined, that  
the

the Glory of the Blest will receive no Augmentation from the Resurrection, unless extensively ; as they express themselves, but not intensively ; or accidentally, but not in itself. For, say they, *the Soul continues to enjoy the same beatifick Vision, the same Light, the same Glory, the same Perfection of its own Operations: In fine, the same Happiness within itself, with which it was blest before the Resurrection.* How inconsiderable an Accession of Happiness, according to these Divines, accrues to us from the Resurrection ? How ill do they agree with St. Paul ? Is that so small an Addition of Happiness, which the Resurrection brings with it, that without it the blessed Apostle would pronounce us to be *of all Men the most miserable* ? that without it, he would value the Immortality of the Soul as nothing ? that without it, he should believe that we have no Hope, but in this Life alone ? Lastly ; That without it, he should believe all previous Beatitude, be it what it will, even the Sight of God himself, not so much as worth the Naming ? From this alone the Apostle expects his Reward, from this his Crown of Glory. It is from this that he principally comforts others against the Power of Death, or any other formidable Evils. Lastly ; What the Apostle calls an  
eternal

eternal Weight of Glory, That they speak of only as an inconsiderable Over-weight ; and what St. *Peter* calls a Crown of Glory, that will never wither, never decay, of That they are pleased to make not the greatest or the principal Part, but a little Addition of Glory. Lastly ; Christ himself teaches us, that the Redemption of the Saints will not draw near, and is not to be expected before the End of the World : Nor does he promise any Retribution before the Resurrection of the Just. So great is the Distance in this Matter, between the Doctrine of the Gospel, and the Decrees of the *Romish* Church. Thus, what the Apostles, what the blessed Martyrs, what the antient Fathers of the Church, all of them accounted the greatest Promise of the Gospel, the very Foundation of the Christian Faith, and the chief Anchor of our Hope, That, by their Decrees, is rendered useless and superfluous.

What is more : Christ purchased this Return of Life for us, this Renovation of Hope, at no less a Price than that of his own inestimable Blood, and confirm'd it by his own Resurrection. And whatever does not rise again, he accounts as lost in that sacred Discourse, as afterwards St. *Paul* did in his Discourse to the *Corinthians*,  
upon

upon the same Argument. This is the Mystery full of Wonder, the Work of divine Virtue, our Victory and our Triumph by his Death derived to us: This is the *Ne plus ultra* of our Perfection, towards which we all strenuously tend, to which we all aspire. Nor can the most ambitious of our Desires soar to a greater Height, nor wish for a farther Progress. Then we shall be like to the blessed Angels, cloathed with that glorious Light with which they are cloathed, and perpetually beholding the same God, which they perpetually behold.

From what has been hitherto said, it appears plainly to me, as well from the sacred Writings, as from the Testimonies of the most antient Fathers, that the Beatitude of the Saints depends solely or chiefly upon the Resurrection; and that the Acme of Perfection, that Height of Felicity and Glory, which is commonly known by the Name of the *beatifick Vision*, is not imparted to human Souls before the Day of Judgment, and the coming of our Lord. But yet if this Cause were to be determined by the Number of Witnesses it would be easy to add to these Fathers of the first Ages, those of the Fourth, and afterwards those of lower Centuries. But the Force of the sacred Writings which alone is sufficient,

would be but obscured and hid by too great an Attendance. And therefore I shall separately, by way of Appendix, mark several of the more manifest Passages relating to the same Argument, from the Authors of the subsequent Age, which every one may consult or throw by according to his Leisure or his Inclination.

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## APPENDIX.

**I**T is supposed, that the Author of *the Questions and Answers to the Orthodox*, which we find in *Justin Martyr*, lived in the fourth Century, and he is of the same Opinion with *Justin* exactly, concerning the State of the Dead before the Resurrection: For discoursing concerning the Time of Retribution, [Answer to Question 60.] he has these Words: *No one before the Resurrection is rewarded or punished, according to the Actions which he did in his Life-time.* Then answering the Objection concerning the Thief, who was carried directly to Paradise, he opens his Mind more fully in these Words: [Quest. and Respons. 76.] *This was the Advantage that the Thief received*

ceived from his Entrance into Paradise, that he actually received by it the Benefit of his Faith, through which he was reputed worthy to be joined to the Assembly of Saints, among them to remain 'till the Day should come of Resurrection and Recompence.

St. Chrysoftome thought so highly of the Resurrection, that without that he entertained but a mean Opinion of the Immortality of the Soul, and reckons all the Advantages that the Saints possessed before that, but as a very inconsiderable Part of their Recompence and Felicity. Consult him, if you please, upon the fifteenth Chapter of the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, where upon these Words of St. Paul, *If our Hope was only in this Life, we were of all Men the most miserable*, he says thus: *What is it that the Apostle says? Why, unless the Body rises again, have we only Hope in this Life, notwithstanding the Soul remains, and remains immortal? And thus he answers himself: Though the Soul remains, and were yet a thousand Times, if possible, more immortal than it is; yet never could it without the Body receive those inef- fable Advantages: And therefore, the Soul before the Body rises, can neither be punished nor rewarded: For all Things will be laid open before the Tribunal of Christ, that every*

one may receive in his Body the Recompence of the Things which he did in his Body, whether they are good, or whether they are evil. And therefore, says the Apostle, if in this Life only we had Hope in Christ, we were of all Men the most miserable. For unless the Body rises again, the Soul remains without its Recompence, and without that supreme Felicity which is enjoyed above in the Heavens.

And St. Chrysostome expresses his Opinion clearly, and by Examples and Similitudes confirms it in other Places, viz. upon that Saying of the Apostle to the Hebrews, Chap. xi, 40. *These have not received their Reward, that without us they might not be made perfect.* The Words of St. Chrysostome are as follow: *What! have not they received their Reward, but are still kept in Expectation? What! have not they yet received their Reward, who died as they did, in so much Tribulation, in so much Affliction? Have so many Ages passed since they conquered, and have they not yet triumphed? and do you impatiently brook Delays, tho' your Contention is not over? Do you consider of what vast Importance it is, that Abraham and St. Paul have not yet received their Reward, but wait 'till you shall be made perfect, that they may receive it together with you?*



you? He goes on in working up the same Argument and says, *That Abel the Protomartyr, and Noah the Preacher of Righteousness, both to the Antediluvian World and ours, will not be crowned before we are: For he has appointed one and the same Time for all to receive their Crowns.* "Till that Time, he sometimes names for Seats to the Souls of the Righteous, *Jera Prothura, the Holy Gate, but oftener the Bosom of Abraham.* See at your Leisure his twenty-fourth Homily upon the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, and the fortieth Homily upon *Genesis*; where he says, *That it is the principal Ambition, and the only Wish of all the Righteous, from the Times of Abraham to the End of the World, that in his Bosom they may find Rest to their Souls.* But the Bosom of *Abraham*, as you know, is not taken for the principal Glory and the supreme Heaven. Lastly; All these Things are confirmed in *St. Chrysostome's* first Sermon concerning the Resurrection; where he refers all our Hope, and all the Retribution which we expect, to the Day of the coming of our Lord: Nor does he give us the least Ground to believe, that before that Day we shall find any Reward, except that which arises in this Life, from our very Contention for Victory, and from the exercising ourselves

in

in Virtue, and in Christian Constancy, by which the Soul is made stronger, and, to use his own Words, more Philosophical. *For as Wrestlers, says he, by contending for Victory become more nervous, and more robust; so from our Contention in Virtue, we shall reap this great Reward; that our Souls will become more firm and philosophical, even before the Heavens are opened to us, before the coming of the Son of God, and before we receive the Recompence which we contend for.*

These Things concerning the State and Happiness of the Saints before the Resurrection, are according to *St. Chrysofome*: But you will say perhaps, that the same Father, in other Places, speaks with more Freedom, and greater Sublimity of this intermediate Happiness. That indeed may very well be, for Orators, sometimes, when they come to conclude, are apt to grow something warm, nor scrupulously weigh in the Balance every Word that proceeds from them; and when they are endeavouring to give Ornament to popular Harangues, or to funereal Orations, there are several Reasons which in their Conclusion may incite them to exaggerate the Felicity of those who are dead in the Lord, but not one that may incline them to diminish it, except

cept their Consciousness of the Truth alone. This Method might be of great Advantage to comfort, and exalt, and raise up the Soul against the Influence and Power of Death, especially the Death of Martyrdom. To speak warmly and freely of the Happiness that the Saints are to enjoy immediately after their Deaths, would be of great Use in exciting Mens Affections and confirming their Piety: But it could be serviceable to no Design, nor to any View or Use whatsoever, to represent it more coldly or more lightly than is convenient. And therefore, in order to discover the Truth, and the real Opinion of every Author who has wrote upon this Subject, one Place alone, that confines this Felicity within the Bounds that we have prescribed to it, is of more Validity than many of those which with Passion exalt it, and more highly extol it. It has been justly observed by others, *That every Word of the Preacher is not to be understood by the Reader with the same Rigour, with which it at first entered into the Ear of the Hearer: For Persons while they declaim, deliver, and inculcate several Things hyperbolically, as the Place, the Time, or the Audience give Occasion, or as they are transported by the Force of their Passions, or inflamed by the Currency of their Discourse.*

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This is most prudently, and most judiciously observed, and ought certainly to be of chief Consideration in the present Argument.

Let us not wonder then, if sacred Orators, moved either by their Affection for the Dead, or a Design of comforting and soothing the Living, have used a softer and less rigorous Style, and have talked of an immediate Possession of Heaven, and of seeing God as he is. The Word Heaven taken in a larger Sense may signify any happy Condition of Souls, after their Departure from their Bodies; which yet is more usually by the Fathers called *Paradise*, or *Abraham's Bosom*, and which signifies an intermediate State of Beatitude, and inferior to the Celestial. Says St. *Austin*, [Epist. 57, and de Gen. ad lit. l. 12. c. 34.] *By Paradise is generally meant a Place where the Inhabitants live happily.* And that is likewise the general Notion or Signification of Heaven. The Saints, indeed, enjoy a Sort of internal Heaven immediately after their Deaths; but without their Bodies cannot enjoy the external one. Then *the Sight of God*, or *the divine Presence*, of which *Chrysostome* somewhere makes mention, can be no other before the Resurrection than intellectual. The Soul indeed will be nearer to God in that separate  
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State, than in this Prison; and will feel his Influence more intimately within itself, and more present and efficacious. than if it was before him, and in his very Sight. But by these or the like, to understand supreme Felicity, or the most glorious Vision of God, is to make this Father most apparently contradict himself. In reading Authors, whether sacred or others, this has been wont to be observed as a Rule, to interpret Things that are obscure by those that are clear, and Things that are vulgarly and popularly spoke, by those that are more exact and severe; and the Observation of this Rule, will, in a good Measure, keep us from erring. Lastly; That we have truly explained the Words of St. *Chrysofome*, may be concluded from hence, that the other Interpreters, and the *Grecian* Fathers, who were the greatest Followers of *Chrysofome*, as *Theodoret*, *Oecumenius*, *Theophylact*, and *Euthymius*, espoused the same Opinion that we do \*. *Theodoret* explains his Opinion in the same Place that St. *Chrysofome* had done it before him, viz. upon the last Verses in the eleventh Chapter to the *Hebrews*, where he asserts, that none of the Righteous are sooner rewarded than others, or enjoy their Crown

\* See more Fathers of this Opinion in *Not. Cortbolt. Jus. tin. xliv. Col. 1 & 2.*

of Glory sooner, but that all will at once in the Resurrection be declared Victors by God together. And upon these Words of the Apostle, *And these all having obtained a good Report through Faith, received not the Promise, God having provided some better Thing for us, that they without us should not be made perfect*, he says thus: *Were their Conflicts for Victory then so great and so many, and they have not yet received their Crowns? For God expects, 'till the Conflicts and Contentions of all are over, that all who have obtained the Victory, may be together declared Conquerors by him, and be rewarded together.* Nor does Oecumenius understand in any other Sense that Saying of the Apostle, and that Account of those antient Heroes who were so renowned for their Faith. *They, says the Apostle, sit down without their Recompence, expecting our Ministration, or Coming.* For so Theophylact upon the Place; *All those that are accounted Saints, though they have a Testimony that they were pleasing to God by their Faith, have not yet obtained that celestial Felicity which they were promised.* And upon the following Verse, he adds several other Things of the same Kind, which he has almost Word for Word transcribed from St. Chrysostome. Lastly; This Author maintains the same Opinion, in what

what he says upon the twenty-third Chapter of St. Luke, where he explains the Saying of Christ to the Thief, *To Day shalt thou be with me in Paradise*: For when he had before distinguished Paradise from Heaven, and had by that Means reconciled the Evangelist with St. Paul, in the Passage quoted above, he adds; *The Thief therefore, though he obtained Paradise, obtained not the Kingdom of Heaven; but he will be let into that too with all those others that are enumerated by St. Paul. In the mean while he has Possession of Paradise, the Kingdom of Spiritual Rest.* The Explication of the same Passage by Euthymius, is exactly of a Piece with this, as appears by the following Quotation from him: *Christ, knowing the Intention of the Thief, promised him what appeared most desireable to him: For the Thief was acquainted with Paradise by the Mosaick Doctrine; and Christ promised that he should be with him in Paradise, as an Earnest, that he should be one Day with him in his Kingdom, where he should enjoy such Things as neither Eye has seen, nor Ear has heard, nor has it entered into the Heart of Man to conceive: For none of the Just, as yet, have had the Performance of the Promises, as the great Apostle of the Gentiles has taught us: For Christ by granting him what he did, gave him*

*Affurance that in the Time of the universal Resurrection, he would give him a Place in his Kingdom.* But so much for St. Chrysofome, and his Grecian Disciples and Followers.

Among the *Latins* of the same fourth Century, consult, if you please, concerning the State of the Dead, St. Hilary, St. Ambrose, and St. Austin. St. Hilary, in his *Commentaries on the Psalms*, has often touch'd upon this Subject, and upon that Passage of *Psal. cxxxviii.* *If I descend into the lower Parts of the Earth, thou art there*, he tells us, that there is a Law universal and inviolable, for the Souls of Men to descend to *Hades*; and he adds, that for this Reason Christ did it, because by it he fulfilled the whole Course and Order of human Nature. He had taught us the same before upon *Psal. liii.* where he says again, that Souls are retained in *Hades*, until the Day of Judgment, And, upon *Psal. ii.* and *Psal. cxx.* upon these Words, *The Lord shall guard thy going in, and thy coming out*, he says thus. *That the Word Guard has no relation to that Time or Age; but that it is an Expectation of future Happiness, when the Souls of the Faithful, departing from their Bodies to the Entrance of that heavenly Kingdom, shall there be detained in the Custody of the Lord, and consigned to the Bosom of Abraham.*

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This is the Doctrine of St. *Hilary*, concerning the State of the Dead. He who hath a Mind to know what St. *Ambrose* says, may read his tenth, eleventh, and twelfth Chapters of his *Treatise of the Advantage of Death*. In the tenth Chapter he acknowledges the Repository and Receptacle of Souls till the Day of Judgment: *For the Day of Recompence is expected by all, the Day on which the Conquered shall blush, and the Conquerors receive the Palm and Crown of their Victory*. And in the eleventh Chapter, shewing the Gladness of those Souls in its several Degrees before the Resurrection; *Fourthly*, says he, *they rejoice, because they begin to understand the Meaning of the Repose they take, and to foresee their future Glory; and charmed with that Consolation, they take their Rest in their Receptacles with great Tranquillity, surrounded by Guards of Angels*. Lastly; The same Author in Book ii. Chap. ii. of his *Discourse of Cain and Abel*, appears to me to go a great deal too far upon this Subject; for he gives a Sort of Hint that the Souls of the Dead are, till the Day of Judgment, uncertain of their future Condition; *For though at the End of this Life, says he, the Soul is released from the Body; yet it is still in Suspence as to the*  
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*Event of the future Judgment.* Thus far says St. *Ambrose*.

St. *Austin* comes after him, and though he sometimes, through Caution and Modesty, declines the Difficulty, or rather the Envy, of deciding the Question; yet, generally speaking, he detains the Souls of all the Righteous, at least, if you except the Martyrs, on this side Heaven, and on this side Glory, in secret peaceable Receptacles, until the Resurrection, and the Day of Judgment, as will manifestly appear to you by the following Passages, if you consult them, and compare them at Leisure. *Expos. of Psalm xxxvi. 10, Upon these Words, adhuc pusillum, Enchirid. ad Laurent. c. 118. Gen. ad Literam, l. xii. c. 35. De Civ. Dei, l. xii. c. 9, Retract. l. i. c. 14. Confess. l. ix. c. 3.*

It is hardly worth while to call for more particular Witnesses from that or the following Centuries: But there are besides, two general Heads, from which Arguments may be brought that may comprehend several Fathers, and several Witnesses. One of these is from the consenting Opinions of the primitive Fathers, who take it for granted, that the State of all Dead whatsoever, is but imperfectly happy before the Resurrection.

rection. The other is from the Use and Practice of the Church, in their Prayers and Offerings for the Dead. As for what relates to their Opinions, there are two that are chiefly to be considered: The one is, that the Saints shall return in the Millennium, and reign together with Christ upon Earth. The other teaches us, that the very Saints themselves are to be purged in the last Fire, and be renewed and purified, together with the World, before they are called up to Heaven, and the Sight of their Maker. Each of these Opinions had great and numerous Champions in the first Ages of the Church, as will plainly appear below in the sixth and ninth Chapters. But each of these Opinions supposes, that the Saints are not yet in Possession of supreme Felicity, of celestial Glory, or the *beatifick Vision* of God; and that they neither are, nor can be prepared for that Enjoyment without the fore-said Purgation. And whether these Doctrines be true, or false, they acquaint us, however, with the Opinions and Sentiments of both these Classes of Fathers, (whose Number is not small) concerning the State of the Dead, and how far, with relation to the Point in Question, their Belief and their Opinions are agreeable to our own.

The other Head which takes in the Consent of many, is the Use and Practice of the Church in their Liturgies, and sacred Offices for the Dead. These Liturgies contain either Thanksgivings for the Dead, and Commemorations of them; with either of which we have nothing to do here, or Offerings and Supplications for them. And this sufficiently shews, that in their Opinion, the Souls for which these Rites were performed were not yet arrived at supreme Glory, and the most blessed Vision of God; but these Rites were performed for the Souls of the most Holy, and most illustrious Persons; for the Souls of the Patriarchs, the Prophets, the Apostles, the Evangelists, the Martyrs, and all the other Lights of the Church; as may be seen in both the antient Liturgies, however doubtful, interlined, or corrupt, and in the Constitutions of *Clement*, in *St. Cyprian*, in *Dionysius* whom they call the *Areopagite* and in *Epiphanius*.

Of this Practice, whether lawful, laudable or not, the Foundation seems to be, that the Antients believed all the Souls of the Dead, of what Order soever, excepting only the Soul of Christ himself, were detained in *Hades* till the Resurrection of the Body; and that they who were not yet made perfect might receive some Advantage from  
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the Offerings and Prayers of the Church : I say Prayers ; for that, besides their Offerings, Supplications were also used, appears to me, both from the foreſaid Liturgies and Authors, and others, to be certain and irrefragable. Thus, for Example, in the Liturgy which is called *St. James's*, Prayers are put up to God, that he would grant Light and Reſt to all the Dead who are orthodox Believers, from *Abel* even to this Day. Remember, O Lord God, the orthodox Souls, even of the *Fleſh*, thoſe whom we remember, and thoſe whom we do not, from *Abel* the juſt, unto this very Day : And do thou make them to reſt in the Place of the Living, in thy Kingdom; in the Delights of *Paradiſe*, in the Boſoms of our Holy Fathers *Abraham*, and *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, &c. The ſame is apparent from other Liturgies, as well the *Greek* as the *Latin*, as you may ſee in thoſe who have made it their Buſineſs to collect them, and examine them. They pray for Repoſe to the Dead, and future Light and Glory. And in all their Offices relating to the Dead, they always look with a ſtedfaſt Eye upon the Reſurrection. Laſtly ; Nothing is to be found, as far as I know, in the Practice of the antient Church, that does not answer to this our Hypotheſis of the State of the Dead and *Hades*, where all the  
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Souls that are separated from their Bodies wait the coming of Christ, and the Sound of the last Trumpet.

So much for the Testimonies of the Fathers, either taken separately, or in a Body together. But perhaps you will say, that all this, or at least a great Part of it, is to no Purpose; since the Papists (whose principal secular Interest it concerns, that the Saints should enjoy Heaven, and Glory, and the Vision of God before the Resurrection) confess, that the Fathers are generally of the same Opinion with us, and that from them they expect neither Assistance nor Patronage in a Cause which, say they, depends entirely upon the Authority and Determination of the Church \*. But does not this Determination come something too late, since we had it not till the Council of *Florence*, that is, till the fifteenth Century? in which Council it was decreed, that *the Souls of the Saints, when they leave their Bodies should, in a little Time, be received into Heaven, and should see God, as he is in Trinity*  
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\* Thus many, and thus celebrated are the antient Fathers, as *Tertullian, Irenæus, Origen, St. Chrysostome, Theodoret, Oecumenius, Theophylact, St. Ambrose, Clemens Romanus, St. Bernard*, who do not assent to that Opinion, which at length has been determined by the Council of *Florence*, after a great Debate, viz. that the Souls of the Just enjoy the Vision of God before the Day of Judgment, but are of a contrary Belief. *Staplet, Def. Auctorit. Eccles. l. 1. c. 2.*

and in Unity. In the mean Time, we can hardly bear it, when we reflect that so many Fathers, who were such illustrious Rulers, and such shining Lights of the Church, should be pretended to have been in an Error for fourteen Centuries together, and that Truth should be discovered so late at last at *Florence*, and, as the History of that Synod relates, extorted with so much Violence, or so much Fraud, from the *Greeks*, whom yet we behold, either ill cured or relapsed. Let them consider this, that are concerned in it: But as for those that are reformed, this *Romish* Authority of Popes and Synods is of no Validity with us: We are left entirely at Liberty, fairly and impartially to examine the Thing, to consider its Force and its Weakness, and diligently to weigh its natural Tendency; to see how the sacred Scripture directs us, how the Reason of the Thing itself, and how the uncorrupted Age of the Church; and not to have only before our Eyes what was done lately, or determined at *Florence* against the united Voice of them all. This Article of the State of the Dead, highly deserves to be thoroughly examined, that it may appear what it is that our Adversaries and we contend for: For upon this Foundation depends the whole Superstructure of *Romish* Religion,

and *Romish* Pomp, with regard to their Saints, with regard to the Canonization, as some are pleased to express themselves, to the Invocation and the Adoration of them; nor only with regard to the Saints themselves, but to their Images and their Relicks. Upon this depend all their Pilgrimages, their meritorious Vows, the Masses of their Saints, and that new, but most lucrative Invocation of Purgatory. Since therefore, so great a Provision, so great a Weight of Superstition depends entirely upon this Article, so great a Superstructure upon this Foundation, or upon this Corner Stone, it most highly concerns us to make no rash Concessions, nor to indulge too pious but ill-grounded Affections in a Matter of such Moment.

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#### C H A P. IV.

*Of the natural State of Souls in the Interval between Death and the Resurrection; whether they are naked and separate from all corporeal Substance, or whether they are united to an aërial, or any other Body.*

**T**HE first Question being dispatch'd concerning the Quality of an intermediate State, as to Felicity or Misery, or concerning



cerning the moral Condition of Souls before the Resurrection, there follows another, and a much more difficult one, concerning their natural State. That Souls survive, live, and think after Death, or the Dissolution of the Body, has been proved in what went before. But what the Apostle said of his Extasy, *Whether it was in the Body, or out of the Body, I know not, says he, God knows*, that I may be allowed to repeat here; whether the Soul, having thrown off this Body, puts on a new one, or remains naked, and without a Body, until the Time of the Resurrection of the Dead, *I know not, God knows*: At least I reckon this among those Obscurities, which neither clearly appear by the Light of Nature, nor by any divine Revelation.

Since there is no room here for Experiments, we must derive our Knowledge, either from the Nature of the Thing itself, those Seeds of Knowledge with which we came into the World, or from the sacred Writings. The Philosophers are the principal Evidences and Interpreters of the former, and the Christian Fathers of the latter. But after we have consulted all these, you will hardly find any Thing upon this Subject that is evident or conclusive, where one may fix one's Foot. As for the Light of Reason,  
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and the Nature of Things, very little Assistance is to be expected from them in the determining this Question. For since the Union of the Soul with this terrestrial Body, or any other Body whatever, does not as far as is known to us, arise from natural Necessity, or any necessary Connexion between these two Natures, but entirely from the Will of God and his divine Decree; when this Body comes to be dissolved, it will depend upon the same divine Will, or, which is the same Thing, upon Laws of Nature unknown to us, whether the Soul shall be subjected to a new Union, or remain separated from all Matter: For so it possibly may remain, since it is a Substance, or a Thing capable of subsisting by itself.

If upon this Subject you consult the Philosophers, they, for the most Part, are silent. The *Platonicks*, indeed, or at least some of the *Platonicks*, assert, that the Soul, immediately after its Departure from this Life, and the Body, will be subjected to an aerial Body; and that from thence it will proceed to an ætherial one, after it has sufficiently improved itself in Wisdom and Virtue, by a retrograde Order, from that by which it fell down by Degrees into this lowest Station.

I cannot see that there is any Thing of Absurdity in this Opinion; but Evidence and Proof are wanting. For how does it appear that we, last of all, at our Birth threw off this aerial Body? or that there ought to be the same Order and the same Degrees of Ascent and Descent? or that, lastly, no State intervenes of Silence and Separation from all Bodies? Since there are innumerable Worlds in the immense Compass of the Universe, there may be many Orders, Modes, and Variations in the Revolutions of Souls, according to the manifold Wisdom of God; and what Order of Ascent or Descent God has prescribed to us, belongs to his secret Dispensation, which is hid from us in this Life.

But from the Ghosts and Apparitions of the Dead, perhaps you may believe that it may be possible to prove, that human Souls, when they throw off this Body, immediately assume another, by means of which they sometimes shew themselves visible and conspicuous in a human Shape. I must confess, that it never was evident yet to me, nor could I be convinced that the Souls \* of  
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\* See the Words of St. *Chryostome*, Homily xix. on *Mat.* and Homily the last, concerning *Lazarus*. *Maldonatus* upon *St. Luke*, Chap. xvi. towards the End, quotes *Tertullian*, *De Anima*, against the Apparitions of the Dead: But I suppose

the Dead ever yet appeared, or will appear before the Day of Judgment. *Genii*, perhaps, or *Dæmons*, may have the Power of condensing the Air, or their proper Vehicles, and forming them into human or brutal Shapes, and may, perhaps, exercise that Power sometimes, especially among barbarous Nations, or Nations that are half barbarous; but I believe that this is rarely done among us; and that among a thousand Tales of such Apparitions we hardly find one true. These, however, by the Vulgar are swallowed, and the Remembrance of a future Life is renewed, and their Faith is strengthened. But the Monks are they who have imported the greatest Cargo of Fables on this Subject, by their own Inventions, or their imaginary Visions, in order to introduce and confirm the Belief of Purgatory.

But let us now, if you please, suppose that the Souls of the Dead have aerial Bodies, and have an animal Life. Here many Questions will occur, many Doubts to be clear'd up: First of all, what Region of the Air would you have these new Comers inhabit?

pose he is mistaken, because he quotes not the Chapter. He likewise quotes *Athanasius*, or the Author, whoever he be, of the Treatise to *Antiochus*, ix. xi. & xiii. *Isidor.* lib. viii. *Etymol.* c. ix. and *Theophylact* on *Matthew* viii.

bit? the superior or inferior? If you place them below the Clouds, you then expose them to all the piercing Extrems of Seasons, and all the Intemperature of the Skies, since they always live in the open Air, defended by no Roofs, by no Houses of any kind whatsoever. When it rains, when it snows, when it hails, when it thunders, they still lie exposed in the open Air; and these Meteors must of Necessity, not only rudely insult their tender Bodies, but strike and transpierce them through and through; and the Fury of tempestuous Winds must drive and transport them, like so many Clouds, into new Habitations. But if you place these Souls of the Dead, as well the Evil as the Good, above the Clouds and the Atmosphere of the Earth, you carry them from *Hades*, into Regions serene and lucid, of which the impure and wicked Souls are most unworthy, and for which they are most improper; nor would you, I believe, have these separated from the rest, the Goats from the Sheep, before the Day of Judgment. But so much for the Seats and Stations of the Dead.

The second Query is concerning the Polity of the Dead: For if they have Bodies, and lead an animal Life, it is necessary that there should be some Polity, some Govern-

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ment among them. Would you then, have them live all in the same Republick promiscuously? or would you have them separated and distributed, as they were here on Earth into several Nations, both by their Names and their Manners distinguished? As for Example; Would you have the *French* dwell altogether, and separately from the rest? Would you thus have the *Spaniards*, the *Italians*, the *Germans*, the *Britons*, and all the rest of the Nations upon the Face of the Earth, have their own Seats in the Air, each of them likewise have their antient Government, their own Language, their own Religion and Customs? These are the Questions that are to be determined, and explained to the Inquirers. But first of all it will be difficult to fix and preserve in a fluid Element, the Bounds of the several Empires; in an Element where there can be neither Ditches, nor Rivers, nor any Fortifications: Nor will the Difficulty be less in appointing their Kings; for, which of the old ones, the first or the last, will they restore to the Throne? or what Royal Pedigree will they prefer to the rest? or, rejecting all antient Titles, shall they give the Crown to the worthiest? I can easily see that Contentions will arise from hence, and Parties and Factions, and Wars; but what Manner of  
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fighting, or what Weapons they will use in the Air, I do not yet understand: The Dead certainly can die no more; nor do I know whether they can be wounded.

Some little Queries likewise arise concerning the Discourse and Language of the Dead. Many have invented Dialogues of the Dead; but what Language the Dead make use of, I am yet to learn. You will say their Mother, or their native Language, the same that they used here on Earth, as the *Grecians* speak *Greek*, the *Latins Latin*, and so for the rest of the Nations: But Times, and People, and Languages, from Age to Age are changed. Our modern *Romans* are very little skill'd in the Language of the antient *Latins*, nor do the vulgar *Italians* understand any Latinity whatever: How shall these People hold Discourse with their *Romulus*, or their *Numa*. The Languages of the *Celtæ* and the *Scythians*, are no more remembred by those who inhabit the same Seats in the North and the West, that they did. Lastly; What is to be done by us the Inhabitants of this Island, who have had so many Languages, and so many Originals? Shall we speak *Welsh* in our aërial Bodies, or *Saxon*, or *Norman*, or as we do at this Day, a Mixture and Compound of them all? If the Life to come were

to be regulated at this rate, I am afraid there would be a *Confusion of Tongues*, worse than that of *Babel*.

We are born Infants in this World, and learn the Use of Speech by Degrees, instructed by our Mothers, or our Nurses; but in the aërial World I suppose there is no Infancy. They who are Infants when they go out of this, when they enter into that, are mature at once, without any Distinction of Age. They do not come out from the Womb of their Mother, and gradually, like our little ones, grow up to Youth and Manhood; but as soon as they have a Taste of ætherial Air, grow reasonable and polite at once, without any Apprenticeship in Learning. I speak of these Things, not as I believe them, but according to the foresaid Hypothesis. Nor do I see how the Dead can retain their old Languages, or swallow down a new at one Draught. But so much for their Discourse.

There yet remains a no less Difficulty concerning their Religion; for these aërial Men must of Necessity have among them divine Worship, and some Institution and Form of Religion. Is every one then to embrace the same Religion which he professed on Earth, and his own particular Sect of it? Are the *Jews* to follow the Law of *Moses*,



*Moses*, the *Mahometans* that of *Mahomet*, the Heathens to worship their own Gods, and the Christians Christ? Would you have the Papists have their Pope as they have here below? and the Reformed have the Scripture as the Rule of their Faith? But what do I talk of the Scripture, when I have no Notion of aërial Books or Writings? If Men write in vain in Water, much more will they do so in Air. No Religion can, in that Station, retain its Canon or its written Law, nor its particular sacred Rites, nor its external Oeconomy. Besides, if all the Souls of the Dead, from the World's Original to this very Day, live together in the Air, the *Jews* will find their Prophets there, and the Christians their Apostles. The *Jews* being better informed of the true *Messiah*, from the oraculous Interpretation of the Prophets themselves, will immediately become Christians. These, in like Manner, will, from the Mouths of the Apostles themselves, receive the infallible Decision of all the Controversies which are now depending between the Reform'd and the *Romans*. The Consequence of which will be, both the Conversion of the *Jews*, and the Union of the Christians. O happy State! O thrice more happy, those who are dead, than those who are yet living! Lastly; When the rest

rest of human kind shall be clearly instructed in the Nature of the true God, and the Mystery of the Messiah, instructed by Men divinely inspired, they rejecting their Errors, will forthwith be converted to the Christian Faith and Worship. Behold now the glorious Kingdom of Christ, a Kingdom not upon Earth, nor in Heaven, but among the Dead in the Air. But all this very little agrees with the Christian Dispensation, as it is explained in the sacred Writings; and, indeed, is foreign to common Belief and Sense: For who can believe that *Adam* and *Eve*, or the first Men of all their Posterity, Sons and Daughters, live together in the Clouds, or the Air; and have lived there together for several thousand Years? Do they still keep to their Families, and to their ancient Relations? Are they sensible of what is done upon Earth, and especially among their own Countrymen, and most of all among their own Relations? But I am weary of asking so many Questions, and of being thus inquisitive in an Affair that is so uncertain, and indeed incredible. If you form Queries upon other Heads, the Answerer will be no less at a Stand. For my Part, the more I reflect upon this in my Mind, the less can I find that there can be any possible way of establishing a Common  
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Wealth among the Dead, that is to say, an external, corporeal, animal, and visible State.

Hitherto we have had Recourse to Reason alone, and to Arguments fetched from the Nature of the Thing: But we ought, besides, to consult the Holy Scriptures, if that by chance should have any Thing to offer to us concerning the Bodies of the Dead before the Resurrection. But quite contrary, there are many Things in the sacred Writings, which, according to my Apprehension, are by no Means favourable to aërial Bodies in the intermediate State. First; Because the sacred Writings mention only two Sorts of animated Bodies, related to human Souls, the Terrestrial and the Celestial; that which we have at this Time, and that which we are to have at the Resurrection of the Dead. In the fifteenth Chapter of the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, the Apostle St. *Paul* handles this Matter a little more diffusely; and after he had distinctly mentioned two Sorts of Bodies, and only two, belonging to the human Soul, he adds, *ver. 49. And as we have born the Image of the Earthly, we shall likewise bear the Image of the Heavenly*, making not the least Mention of any intermediate Body, which he seems more plainly to exclude in the fifth Chapter of the second Epistle to  
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the *Corinthians*, ver. 1. in these Words: *For we know that if our earthly House of this Tabernacle were dissolved, we have a Building of God, an House not made with Hands, eternal in the Heavens.* You see here that no corporeal State comes between the terrestrial and celestial Body; but in the Verses which follow, he calls that State which, perhaps, may intervene, a State of Nakedness: The Words are these, ver. 2, 3. *For in this we groan earnestly, desiring to be cloathed upon \* with our House, which is from Heaven. If so be that being cloathed, we shall not be found naked; for if we are cloathed with any Body, we shall not be found in a State of Separation, upon the coming of Christ to raise up the Dead: For the naked Soul, or the naked Mind, signifies the same with the naked Soul or the naked Mind, in a State of Separation from all Body whatever. And to be cloathed upon, can be applied to no one, unless to one who is already cloathed.*

Secondly; The Fate of every Man, according to the Style and Account of the sacred Scripture, depends entirely upon our Actions in this Life; for in that to come there will be no Change, either of Manners,

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\* Concerning the Word *Superindui*, or *Cloathed upon*, see the Explication of *Crellius*, p. 315.

or of the Portion of Happiness, or Misery, which we have merited from those Actions. *Whether the Tree falls to the South or to the North, in the Place where it fell, there it must lie,* says *Ecclesiastes*, xi. 3. Which Saying is generally referred to the Death of Man, and his unchangeable Condition afterwards. And so they are wont to interpret *the Shutting of the Gate* in the Parables of Christ, *Mat. xxv. 10. Luke xiii. 25.* But *St. Paul* tells us that more plainly in the second Epistle to the *Corinthians*, and the fifth Chapter, ver. 10. *For we must all appear before the Judgment Seat of Christ, that every one may receive the Things done in his Body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good, or whether it be evil.* Which Words seem to determine and fix the future Condition of Men, from the Actions which they have done, or ought to have done during this present Life. But if another Life intervenes before the Day of Judgment, and a Life of that Nature, that it is as capable of good or of evil Actions, of Virtue or Vice, as the present Life is, than which it is of much greater Length and Duration; I see no Manner of Reason, why the whole Weight of Eternity, and of the future Lot and Condition of Men should depend upon this present Life, which is so

short, so furrounded with Troubles, and to numberless Temptations liable, and that other, of much greater Moment, entirely neglected and accounted as Nothing.

Thirdly, and lastly; according to a common Expression in the Holy Scripture, Death is called a *Sleep*, and those that die are said *to fall asleep*; which seems to me to hint, that the State of Death is a State of Quiet, of Silence, and of Inaction or Cessation from Action, that is, with regard to the external World: So that in a State of Death we have no more Commerce with the external World, than we have in a State of Sleep. Besides, we are said to rouse ourselves, or to be awake upon the Resurrection: But why? because changing our Condition, and shaking off Sleep, we rise again into Light and into the visible World.

But you will say, perhaps, that the Phrase of Scripture where Death is likened to Sleep, and by which those that die are said to fall asleep, is only an Euphemismy, or a figurative favourable Expression, and regards the Body only, which when dead appears to take pleasing Rest, like one that is overwhelmed with Sleep. Be it so: But then the Expression will be fuller and stronger, if with the Body you comprehend the Mind, which rests from its usual Actions,

as it does in a State of Sleep; nor is it struck by external Objects. Therefore, the Senses are not bound and shut up, as they are in Sleep, but we are snatched as it were in an Extasy, from the Body and the corporeal World. And when the Theatre of the visible World opens itself again to us, we are aptly and justly said to shake off Sleep, and to wake. But if, upon the Soul's Departure from this Body, we immediately put on another more active and more lively; and the Souls of the Dead are sporting in the Fields of the Air, extremely awake and chearful; I see no Reason why the Dead should be said to sleep till the Resurrection, and upon that to awake, unless you refer all that to the Body, which seems somewhat hard to me.

But we are here to observe, that when Inaction, or a Cessation from Action, is attributed to the Souls of the Dead, we are not to understand a total or an universal Inaction, as well internal as external, but external Inaction only; because they have no Operation, or Action, which regards the corporeal World, nor are they affected by that any manner of way whatsoever. But still they have Life and the Faculty of Thinking remaining: For so I understand the Words of Christ, when to prove the

Immortality of the Soul, he says, that God calls himself the God of *Abraham*, of *Isaac*, and of *Jacob*. *Luke xx. 37, 38.* *But he is not the God of the Dead; but of the Living, for they all live unto him.* By the Dead here Christ understands those who are void of all Life whatsoever; and in this Sense he denies that these Patriarchs are dead. *For they live*, says he, *unto God*; that is, if I understand the Thing rightly, though they do not live with regard to Men, and the rest of the visible World, yet, with regard to God, in the invisible World, according to their intellectual Faculties, they enjoy both Life and Vigour.

Let it suffice to observe all this from the sacred Writings, in order to discover the State and Kind of Life, whether corporeal or incorporeal, we are to have immediately after Death; and that for this End, that we may be able to judge, whether we shall behold this Sun, these Stars, and this agreeable Light; or whether, before the Resurrection of the Dead, we shall enjoy the visible World in any Manner whatever: For, according to our Philosophy, unless the Soul is united to some particular Body, to some particular Portion of Matter, apart and separately from all others, to which it is vitally, and after a peculiar Manner united,

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it can have no Sense or Perception of the external World, or of any corporeal Appearance, or of any Part or Motion of Matter. This perhaps, may to some appear a Paradox, who believe that it may very well be, and, indeed, that it actually is, that the Soul discerns all external Objects, and the Motions of the corporeal World, though it is united to no particular Body, nor to any one Portion of Matter, rather than to another: And though it be altogether naked, yet, according to the Place or Region in which it is present, it may receive Impressions from the surrounding World, and from adjacent Bodies, in as equal a Manner, as if it had a Body peculiar to itself. But I would fain know how this can be, unless we suppose the Soul to be impenetrable: For all the Action that Bodies have is by Motion, Contact, and Impulse; and wherever there is no Resistance, there can be no Pressure or Impulse. Besides, the Motions of Bodies produce not Sensations, or Thoughts, or Reflections, in us by their own Power, (for at that rate the Effect would be more noble than the Cause) nor can they by their own Power act upon an incorporeal Nature: But that is brought about by a Law established by the Author of Nature, between these Souls. and these particular Bodies;

dies ; by Virtue of which Law, they sympathize each with the other, act upon each other, and from each other suffer ; and this we call a *Vital Conjunction* or *Union* : So that Union is one Thing, and naked Presence another Thing \*. And unless you can suppose that naked Souls, or Souls that are separated from their Bodies, sympathize with the whole Machine of the Universe, or with all Bodies of every kind, they can receive Sensations or sensible Impressions from none.

Lastly ; that I may conclude upon this Head, Pleasure and Pain, which are first-rate Sensations, and of the greatest Importance, cannot arise in the Soul without a Body that is peculiar to it, or that is vitally united to it : For these are Affections which happen to the Soul, by Reason of some Good or some Evil that happens to the Body, as it is it's own Body. If you strike with a Staff, an adjacent Wall, I behold the Motion of the Staff, and I hear the Sound of the Stroke or the Blow ; but I am sensible of no Pain from it : But if with the same Staff, and the same Force, you strike against my Body, or that Portion of Mat-  
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\* I might see, altho' my Eyes were shut, if the naked Presence, or the Nearness of the Object were sufficient to excite Sensations in the Soul.

ter which I call my Body, I immediately feel Pain from it ; for a new Sensation arises very different from Seeing or Hearing, which we nominate Pain. In the same Manner, if in my Presence, with a Sword or an Axe, you lop off a Branch of a Tree, no Pain is felt by me from it ; but if with the same Sword, or the same Axe, you cut my Arm asunder I feel insupportable Grief and Pain. I am more affected with the Prick of a Needle upon my own Finger, than with the Blow of a Cannon Ball upon any other Body whatever. After the same Manner we may account for corporeal Pleasure: But we have here said enough to shew that our Sensations do not arise from any kind of Body, nor from every Presence of the Soul ; but that, besides local Presence, another State is required, a State of Union, or of Sympathy, to affect us with the Motions of Matter. But enough of this\*.

Now

\* That I may have done with this Subject, the Dead seem to me to know nothing of the Affairs of those who live in this World, nor to meddle with the Concerns of their Families, nor to be perplexed with their Cares: They rest from their Labours. Nor can I easily conceive, that an old Beldam, for Example, who never knew how to write or read, nor to make the Mark of any Letter in the Alphabet, that much less knew how to paint or to engrave exactly ; I say, I cannot easily conceive, that this old Beldam should be able to appear before us in her own Shape,  
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Now these Enquiries have we made, and these Determinations have we come to, concerning the Souls of the Dead, according to the Light which we have received, either from the Nature of Things, or from the sacred Oracles: By which it appears, first, that the Soul survives the Body; secondly, that the Souls of the Good will be happy after Death, and the Souls of the Wicked unhappy: But, thirdly, that before the Day of Judgment, the former will not be supremely happy, nor the latter extremely miserable. Lastly, that it is more probable, that until the Resurrection the Souls will remain in a separate State, than that they will be vested in any Body. Yet, after all, my Opinion is, that this is to be numbered amongst Things obscure, or Things

and with all the Lines of her Face, and Lineaments of her Body, like one of such an Age, and with those Wrinkles that are the Effects of it; and all this to the greatest Exactness: Nor to appear only in her own Shape, but in her usual Garments and her external Dress: And all this so compleatly, so exactly, that neither *Appelles* himself, nor *Phidias*, no Art of the Painter, no Art of the Sculptor, was ever able to equal the Art of this old Beldam, we are amazed at the hearing of these Things, as Things beyond the common Belief of Men: But as the Power and Faculties of the Soul, after 'tis set free from this Body, and cloathed with a thinner, are altogether unknown to us, I must own that all that I have said, however it may have a Tendency to persuade, yet does not come up to the Force of a Demonstration.



astonishing Sights, such these will transcendently be. Then new Heavens, and a new Earth will succeed; then the Millenary Empire of Christ; and, lastly, the End of this Globe of Earth, and the Consummation of all that belongs to it. These are the Subjects of the greatest Concern and Weight to us, which we, according to our Capacity, and the Light that we came into the World with, or that we have receiv'd from the sacred Writings, shall handle each in its Order.

The first four of these, if I am not mistaken, are to fall out at the same Time together. Christ is to come to Judgment in Flames of Fire, and the Dead at the same Time are to rise, *2 Thess. i. 7, 8.* And these four Points, I believe to be more clearly revealed, as to the Things themselves, or the Main of them: But when the Question is concerning Modes and Circumstances, we must often distinguish between the vulgar Hypothesis, and the reasonable one, the literal and the secret one. Lastly, As for the Things which are wholly hid from our Knowledge, they are entirely to be referred to the secret Dispensation of the Almighty.

As for what regards the burning of the World, and the coming of Christ, those we  
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have formerly treated of, through an entire Book, which is the Third of the *Theory of the Earth*. And, therefore, we shall treat of them only succinctly, and by Way of Abridgment here, that we may not appear to do the same Thing over again. Christ will come to judge and to rule the World; to judge Mankind, and to reign together with his Saints. He has explained each of these to his Disciples, and called them to be his Assessors in either Throne. *Matt. xix. 28. In the Regeneration, when the Son of Man shall sit in the Throne of his Glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve Thrones, judging the twelve Tribes of Israel.* Christ had before, speaking of the Life to come, joined both these together, Empire and Judgment: *For the Son of Man shall come in the Glory of his Father, with his Angels, and then he shall reward every Man according to his Works. Matt. xvi. 27, 28.* Lastly, In the solemn and divine Oracle which he delivered upon the Mount of Olives, a little before his Death, he, more than once, reminded them of his Return to the Earth: *And then shall appear the Sign of the Son of Man in Heaven, and then shall all the Tribes of the Earth mourn; and they shall see the Son of Man coming in the Clouds of Heaven with Power and great*  
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Glory.

*Glory. And he shall send his Angels with a great Sound of a Trumpet, and they shall gather together his Elect from the four Winds, from one End of Heaven to the other. Matt. xxiv. 30, 31.*

In these, and other resembling Passages, we are instructed by the Mouth of Christ himself in his future Return to the Earth; which after him the Angels, and after them the Apostles again and again proclaimed. At the same Time, I am not ignorant that these Sayings of Christ, concerning his future Coming, are so restrain'd by some, and have their Meaning so maimed, as if nothing was meant by them, but the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, tho' during the Time *Jerusalem* was destroy'd, Christ remained above in the Heavens; nor during that Time did he ever come, or ever so much as appear, unless improperly, as far as the Works and the Judgments of God, are taken for God himself. Besides, the external Splendor, the Glory of the Father, the Concomitancy of Angels painted in those Descriptions, denote his personal Coming, and can never be adjusted to any figurative Meaning. Lastly, the universal Judgment, and the End of the World are connected together with this coming of Christ, in the forementioned Passages.



Passages. The Preparation for Judgment is manifestly described in the foresaid Passage, *Matt. xix. 28.* As you will find by comparing it with *Rev. xx. 4, 11, 12.* You will likewise find the judicial Reward or Punishment of every one according to his Merits, if you compare *Matt. xvi. 27, 28.* with *Rom. ii. 5, 6, &c.* And in the twenty-fifth Chapter of the same Evangelist, *ver. 31, 32, &c.* both the Preparation for Judgment, and the judicial Sentences, are connected together with this Coming of Christ: *When the Son of Man shall come in his Glory, and all the Holy Angels with him, then shall he sit on the Throne of his Glory. And before him shall be gathered all Nations, and he shall separate them one from another, as a Shepherd divideth his Sheep from the Goats, &c.*

As these Passages clearly denote the universal Judgment, and that at the Coming of Christ; so that Judgment as perspicuously means that the contemporary End of the World, co-incides with the same. Some have been bold enough to assert, that in the twenty-fourth Chapter of *St. Matthew*, and other parallel Places, nothing is said concerning the End of the World, or the utmost Consummation of Ages: But that all those Sayings, though ever so great,  
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yet solidly regard the Destruction of *Jerusalem* only. A bold Affirmation, and very ill grounded, in my Opinion. What? because in one or two Places, where a certain Coming of Christ is mention'd, some View is had to the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, therefore wherever in the Gospel mention is made of his coming, though superlatively glorious, and attended with a Thousand Marks that can never in the least regard *Jerusalem*, but must be referred to Nature and the World about to perish together; shall we dare to restrain and to wrest these Passages to the Destruction of one People, and of one City only? This seems to me to be highly rash, to say no other of it.

We are next to consider that Chapter of *St. Matthew*, in which the foresaid Interpreters say, that nothing is found that regards the End of the World, or that ought to be extended beyond the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, which if I am not mistaken, may two ways be confuted. First, several Things are asserted and related in this Chapter, of which we have no Account in the History of the Destruction of *Jerusalem*. Secondly, the Things that are related in the sacred Writings, when the ultimate Coming of Christ in the End of the World is described, agree and answer exactly to what

what is said in this Chapter; and therefore both ought to be understood as meant of the same Coming.

As to the first of these, it is said *Ver. 14. This Gospel of the Kingdom shall be preached through all the World, for a Witness unto all Nations, and then shall the End come.* These Things are not yet come to pass, much less were they come to pass, before the Destruction of *Jerusalem*. But further, these Persons would have only *Judea* understood by *through all the World*, and by *all Nations* only the various Tribes and Provinces of the *Jews*; which tho' it is something strained, yet, if there were no farther Objection, I should not dwell upon this alone. But, secondly, the wonderful Appearances both in Earth and in Heaven, and the glorious Appearance of Christ in the Clouds above all, which are said to precede the Consummation of Things, which is here marked and foretold, did neither precede, nor accompany the Destruction of *Jerusalem*. These Prophecies are thus related by *St. Matthew*: *Immediately after the Tribulation of those Days, shall the Sun be darkened, and the Moon shall not give her Light, and the Stars shall fall from Heaven, and the Powers of the Heavens shall be shaken. And then shall*  
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*appear the Sign of the Son of Man in Heaven: And then shall all the Tribes of the Earth mourn, and they shall see the Son of Man coming in the Clouds of Heaven, with Power and great Glory. Matt. xxiv. 29, 30.* But upon the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, Christ no where appeared in the Clouds of Heaven, nor did the Sun lose its Splendor, or the Moon its Light, nor were the Powers of the Heavens shaken. A Comet, indeed, did appear with its Tail resembling a Sword, or a Faulchion, as usual: But the rest of the Portents which *Josephus* mentions are quite of another Kind.

But, besides, these Signs in the Heavens are attended by others on Earth, as the shaking of the Earth, and the roaring of the Sea, and its tumultuous Waves. For so *St. Luke*: *And there shall be Signs in the Sun, and in the Moon, and in the Stars; and upon the Earth Distress of Nations, with Perplexity, the Sea and the Waves roaring, Mens Hearts failing them for Fear, and for looking after those Things which are coming on the Earth, for the Powers of Heaven shall be shaken: Luke xxi. 25, 26.* But what has *Jerusalem* to do with the Sea, or the Raging or Roaring of its tempestuous Waves? Is any Thing like this related to have happen'd at that Time? Certainly nothing

thing, but these and the rest of the Things abovemention'd, relate to another, and a greater Catastrophe, the Destruction of the World: And; therefore, in explaining this Matter, Christ very aptly puts them in mind of *Noah*; and the Deluge, which was not a national, but an universal Destruction.

In the mean Time, I am not ignorant that the Interpreters, of whom we have been here speaking, in expounding these Phænomena, have Recourse to Metaphors, and to Allegories, and to quote Passages from the Prophets, in which these or the like Expressions are used in a figurative Sense: It is granted that some of them are; but it appears to me to be no just Law of interpreting, to pretend that those Things which are sometimes used figuratively by the Prophets, should be always and every where understood in the same Sense. The Style of the Gospel is a great deal more chaste, nor does it easily deviate from the literal Sense; from which an Interpreter ought never to depart, unless the Necessity of the Subject-Matter constrains him: And we have shewn in another Place, that these Phænomena in the Earth and the Heavens, though wonderful and extraordinary, will really happen towards the End of the World; when Nature is in its Pangs, and the Conflagration

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tion impending. The Destruction of *Jerusalem* was, indeed, a Type of the Destruction of the World, and therefore we have less Reason to wonder that they should both be mingled in a confused Relation; for there is, in the sacred Style, if I may so express myself, a Sort of a Communication of Idioms between the Types and the Antitypes; and there is in the Prophets a repeated Completion of the same Prophecy, ascending gradually to its Height.

So much for the second Argument, taken from the external Signs; the third follows it, taken from hence, that we observe, that there is in this Prophecy another Period of Time, besides that of the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, and a Period posterior to it; for thus we read in *St. Luke* xxi. 24. *Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the Times of the Gentiles be fulfilled;* see here another Period, different from that of *Jerusalem*, and posterior to it; for the Desolation of the *Jews* is said to endure to this other Period: I desire to know then what this posterior Period is, unless it be that of the World? Or the Restoration of the *Jews* towards the End of the World, after the Times are accomplish'd that are predestined, for the preaching to and converting the *Gentiles*. But the Wonders in  
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the Earth, and the Heavens, and the glorious Appearance of Christ in the Clouds, immediately follow the Mention of this posterior Period, and are therefore properly to be referred to that, and not to the Destruction of *Jerusalem*. Besides, when Christ says, *That of that Day and Hour knoweth no Man, no, nor the Angels which are in Heaven*, he seems to mean something more remote than that Destruction, which when it was scarce at the Distance of half an Age from the Time in which our Saviour spoke, it is a great deal less propable that it should have escaped the Knowledge of all the Angels in Heaven, than if you interpose the Series of many Ages, and understand by it the last Day of the expiring World.

Thus far we have treated of the Remarks which are found in the very Text. If besides you compare this Prophecy with other Passages of the sacred Scripture, where the last Coming of Christ, and the Day of Judgment are described, you will easily find by the Resemblance and the Relation which the Expressions have to each other, that the same Time is designed by all of them, and the same State of Things. In all of them you see Christ coming in the Clouds of Heaven; in all of them you see an Army

of Angels attending him, and in all of them hear the Clangor of the last Trumpet proclaim him. Do you know, you who maintain the contrary Side, tell me, I beseech you, in what Places do you own that the sacred Scripture speaks of the true, the personal, and the last coming of Christ? I know very well, that you believe in that Coming so much expected, and so much desired by Christians; and according to my Opinion, Christ speaks of the same in many Places, in many also the Apostles. Christ, for Example, speaks of it in the Gospel of *St. Matthew* xvi. 27. but you will not allow it; \* in *Matthew* xxiv. but you will not allow it; in *Matthew* xxvi. 64. but you will not allow it; *Matthew* xix. 28. and xxv. 31, 32. when you either deny, or hesitate.

Besides, the Apostles, in our Opinion, often speak of the same; as for Example, 2 *Thess.* i. 7, 8, &c. but you are of another Opinion: Nor the Guards of Angels, nor the revenging Fire, nor the eternal Perdition of the Ungodly, which are all of them here commemorated, have Prevalency enough

\* See Dr. *Hammond* upon these and the following Places, especially on *Matt.* xxiv. 3. *Not.* b. 2 *Thess.* i. and upon 2 *Pst.* iii. and *Lightfoot* upon the fourth of *St. Mark*, p. 18.



nough to prove to you, that the ultimate Coming of Christ in the End of the World is here to be understood. Then in the second Epistle of *Peter*, Chap. iii. 4, 8, 9, 10, &c. we believe that the Coming of our Lord, that the Day of Judgment, and the Dissolution and Renovation of this World are clearly shewn and exhibited to us; neither here do you give your Assent. Lastly, we in like Manner interpret the fourteenth and fifteenth Verses of St. *Jude*, and the seventh of the first Chapter of the *Revelations*, of the judicial and visible Coming of Christ; and here you likewise prevaricate; as likewise in sundry other Places, too numerous to be mentioned here.

With Pain it is, that we suffer so many sacred Passages to be torn from us; Passages on which all our Hope was founded of the future Coming of Christ. Nor is their Employment either grateful to Christians, or advantageous to Christianity, who make it their Business to lessen the Weight of the Prophecies, and to confine and constrain their Sense, which sometimes they do without Sense of Right, or Shame, in spite of the Reluctancy, both of the Spirit and the Letter; as when the Preparation for the last Judgment is manifestly described, or the  
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Conflagration of the World, or the Glory of the Father and the Angelick Guards; or lastly, Christ himself descending from Heaven, and conspicuous in the Clouds of Heaven; they who pretend to reduce these Realities, so illustriously manifest, to Shadows and Figures, these Universals, comprehending no less than a World, to the Destruction of one City and Nation; these Persons seem to me not only to convert a rich Vein into a sterill one, but by an Interpretation of this Nature, to do Violence both to Words and to Things; for what can be more manifest than that Conflagration and the End of the World described in the foremention'd Passages of *St. Paul* and *St. Peter*; which yet they are pleased to resolve into I know not what chymical Allegories? But what we can still worse endure, and what has still a nearer Relation to our Argument, is, that they wrest and distort the Descent of *Christ in the Clouds of Heaven*, (*Matt. xxiv. 30.*) from the Letter and the Truth,\* and pretend that there is nothing meant by it, but the Judgments of  
 God,

\* That the Word *Clouds*, is to be taken in a literal Sense, you may see fully proved by *Gerard. Tom. ix. de extrem. Jud. p. 67, 68.* This Word is taken from *Dan. vii. 13.* where the Prophet is speaking of the second Com-  
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God, and Punishments that are sent from Heaven; when yet they might have learnt the Force of that Expression from the Mouth and Information of an Angel, who tells us, that this Coming in the Clouds is both true and personal; for said the Angel, *Acts* i. 11. *Ye Men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into Heaven? This same Jesus, which is so taken up from you into Heaven, shall so come in like Manner as ye have seen him go into Heaven, that is, personally and visibly in the Clouds.*

It seemed to me to be of the greatest Consequence, to make these short Remarks, that no Evidence might escape me in an Affair of so vast Moment, and in so renowned a Cause; for unless Christ returns from Heaven, we are lost, vain is our Hope, and vain our Faith, as the Apostle speaks concerning the Resurrection. But there are, besides, in the sacred Writings, numberless Proofs and Testimonies of this glorious and most wish'd-for Coming, which is expressed by various Names. It is for the most Part called *Parousia*, Presence, in the *Greek*, and sometimes *Apokalupsis*, Revelation;

ing of Christ. By the *Clouds of Heaven*, the *Jerus* understand *Angels*, or the *Guardian Host of Angels*, says *Pearson* on the Creed, p. 322. marg.

lation, 1 *Cor.* i. 7. 2 *Thes.* i. 7. 1 *Peter* i. 7, 13. and iv. 13. *Luke* xvii. 31. sometimes it is named *Epiphaneia*, an illustrious Appearance, 2 *Thes.* ii. 8. 1 *Tim.* vi. 14. 2 *Tim.* iv. 1, and 8. *Tit.* ii. 13. sometimes it is named *Phanerosis*, Manifestation, or manifest Appearance, *Col.* iii. 4. 1 *Pet.* v. 4. and that solemn Day is called by the Prophet and the Apostle, *Acts* ii. 20. *e; emera Kuriou e megale Kai epephanes*, that great and illustrious Day of the Lord, in which, says God, *I will shew Wonders in Heaven above, and Signs in the Earth beneath, Blood and Fire, and Vapour of Smoak: The Sun shall be turned into Darknes, and the Moon into Blood, before that great and illustrious Day of the Lord shall come.* These Prodigies, these Wonders have not yet been brought upon the Stage; that Part of the Drama, the last Act of it is yet to come, for which the greatest Machines, and the most noble and most terrible Scenes are wont to be reserved.

Nor is it any Objection to what has been said, that this Prophecy is cited upon the Effusion of the Holy Ghost on the Apostles, as if at that very Time it had received its Accomplishment. It received it indeed in some Measure, as to the former Part of it, as to Gifts and Inspirations divine; but it

is manifest that the latter Part of it, concerning which we are now speaking, these Signs and Wonders in external Nature, have no Relation to this Effusion of the Holy Spirit, for that nothing in the Time of that Effusion happened, but a rushing and a mighty Wind.

Many and mighty Things remain to be perfected upon the Coming of our Lord, upon that *wonderful and terrible Day*, as the Prophet expresses himself. Nothing can be more terrible to the Impious and Irreligious, than the Sight of the angry Deity, upon whose coming the Earth trembles, the Heavens are troubled, the Sun is converted into Darkness, and the Moon into Blood, and all Nature languishes as about to expire; *then shall Mens Hearts fail them for Fear*, that is, the Hearts of the Wicked, *and for looking after those Things which are coming on the Earth*, as the Evangelist tells us, *Luke xxi. 28.* but the Righteous shall look up, and lift up their Heads, *when they shall see the Son of Man coming in the Clouds with Power, and great Glory*, before whom ten thousand thousand Angels shall fly, and illuminate his Way, flashing and blazing before their angry God, like Lightning before the Thunder, an Army

more numerous, and more refulgent, than all the Stars in the Heavens.

Hitherto we have proved the Coming of Christ from the sacred Writings: But to paint the Excess of his Glory, or precisely to nominate the Time of his Coming, is beyond all mortal Power. As for the former, we have given a Sort of a light Specimen of it in the foremention'd Passage, which we have left to be accurately perform by others: As for the latter, it must be confessed, that the primitive Christians, nay, and the Apostles themselves, as far as we can gather from the sacred History, believed that this Day of the Lord was coming upon their own Times, or was not very far distant from them: But this Point will be discussed hereafter, when we speak of the Day of Judgment, that we may avoid being tedious in this Chapter.

The Conflagration of the World is joined with the Coming of Christ, as the sacred Oracles teach us. The Apostle St. Paul expressly tells us so in his second Epistle to the *Thessalonians*, Chap. i. 7, 8. *When the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from Heaven with his mighty Angels, in flaming Fire, taking Vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.* In the same Manner  
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the Apostle St. Peter joins the Coming of Christ, or that Day of the Lord, with the Combustion and the Dissolution of the World, 2 Epist. iii. 10. *But the Day of the Lord will come as a Thief in the Night, in the which the Heavens shall pass away with a great Noise, and the Element shall melt with fervent Heat, the Earth also, and the Works that are therein shall be burnt up.* Besides, that the Lord will come to Judgment in Fire, several Passages of both Testaments witness; and in the same Chapter, ver. 7. St. Peter says thus: *But the Heavens and the Earth which are now, by the same Word are kept in store, reserved unto Fire against the Day of Judgment, and Perdition of ungodly Men.* The Apostle of St. Paul likewise, if I am not mistaken, in the first to the Corinthians, Chap. iii. 11, 12, 13. has the same View with St. Peter. *For other Foundation can no Man lay, than what is laid, which is, that Jesus is the Messiah. Now if any Man build upon this Foundation, Gold, Silver, precious Stones, Wood, Hay, Stubble, every Man's Work shall be made manifest; for the Day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by Fire and Fire shall try every Man's Work of what Sort it is.* That Passage likewise in the Epistle to the Hebrews. Chap. x. 27. seems

to look the same Way; *There remains a certain fearful Looking for of Judgment, and fiery Indignation, which shall devour the Adversaries.*

Nor do the Prophets less dreadfully set before us the fiery Equipage and Provision of a present, an angry, and revenging God, when they speak of the Coming of our Lord, and the Destruction of his Enemies; that is often hinted at in the *Psalms* of David, *Psalms*. xi. 6. l. 3. and lxxviii. 2, 3. and lxxxiii. 15, 16, &c. xcvi. 3. And *Isaiab* speaks plainly, Chap. lxvi. 15, 16. *For behold the Lord will come with Fire, and with his Chariot like a Whirlwind, to render his Anger with Fury, and his Rebuke with Flames of Fire.* The same Prophet has the same Meaning, Chap. xxxiv. 8, 9, 10. Besides, in the Prophet *Daniel*, Chap. vii. 9, 10. the *Antient of Days* is described, as sitting upon his Tribunal, and surrounded and covered with Flames: *His Throne was like the fiery Flame, and his Wheels like burning Fire: A fiery Stream issued, and came forth from before him, and Thousand Thousands minister'd unto him, and ten Thousand Times ten Thousand stood before him; the Judgment was set, and the Books were opened.* Lastly, the Prophet *Malachy*, Chap. iv. 1. shews us the same Face of Nature



ture upon that Day of the Coming of the Lord: *Behold the Day cometh that will burn as an Oven, and all the Proud, yea, and all that do wickedly shall be stubble, and the Day that cometh shall burn them up.*

Hitherto we have brought Passages from sacred Authors, as Proofs of the future burning of the World upon the Coming of Christ: And this Conflagration, and this Coming ought, in my Opinion, to have a Place among the clearest Doctrines of the Christian Faith, if we only have Regard to the Facts themselves. But there are, besides, several Circumstances, Modes, and Conditions of this Conflagration, worthy of our Thoughts and our Contemplation, though not equally manifest, nor equally necessary to be known. It is certainly worth our while to endeavour to discover the very Time of this future Burning, and to have some Foreknowledge of it, to be able to set forth the Bounds and the Limits of it; how far it will reach upwards, and how far descend; how far it will pierce into the Bowels of the Earth, or penetrate the Regions of the Skies; and then to enquire into the Causes and Seed of this universal Burning, as far as 'tis founded in the Nature of Things, and the Matter and Form of the Earth. Lastly, to give an Account  
of

of its Beginning, its Progress, and its End; and with what Shape and Countenance the Earth will appear, when the Conflagration's over. These and other Things relating to these, we have handled more at large in the foremention'd Treatise, to which the Reader is desired to have Recourse, who has a Mind to be further satisfied upon this Subject.

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## C H A P. VI.

*Of the last Judgment; of the Preparation, Manner, End, and Effect of it.*

**A**T the Coming of the Lord the Dead arise, and stand in Judgment. The Resurrection, indeed, in the Order of Nature precedes this; but of Things that are transacted at the same Time, those are most commodiously handled first, that can be soonest dispatched. Now as of all Things that belong to our future State, the Doctrine of the Resurrection is of the most Importance, it most of all requires our Care and our Application; and therefore we have reserved the last Place for it, of the four Things which we proposed to treat of.

In handling this Subject we shall first give the Reader a View of its principal Appearances, as it is represented and painted by the sacred Writers. Secondly, the Thing itself, and its sacred Truth shall be explained according to a reasonable Hypothesis; Lastly, and the End and Effect of this Judgment upon the Innocent and the Guilty, upon the Acquitted or the Condemned; and these Things appear to me to comprehend this Matter in general, and the most useful Parts of it, rejecting several impertinent and sophistical Disputes, which are wont to be carried on with so much Noise in the Schools, without Advantage to either Side, and by which the Force of the Mind, employ'd in superfluous Trifles, is dissipated and consumed.

As for what relates to the View of its principal Appearances, in the first Place the Judge is described by the Prophet, *Daniel*, Chap. viii. 9, 10. sitting on his Tribunal, and surrounded by his Guards, in these Words; *I beheld, says he, 'till the Thrones were set, and the Antient of Days did sit, whose Garment was white as Snow, and the Hair of his Head like the pure Wool; his Throne was like the fiery Flame, and his Wheels like burning Fire: A fiery Stream issued, and came forth from before him:*

*him : Thousand Thousands ministered unto him, and ten Thousand Times ten Thousand stood before him ; the Judgment was set, and the Books were opened.*

In the Revelations of St. *John*, Chap. xx. II, &c. the Judge, the Judgment, and the Judged, are represented together. *I saw*, says the Prophet, *a great white Throne, and him that sat on it, from whose Face the Earth and the Heaven fled away, and there was found no Place for them : And I saw the Dead, small and great stand before God, and the Books were opened ; and another Book was opened, which was the Book of Life ; and the Dead were judged out of those Things, which were written in the Books, according to their Works. And the Sea gave up the Dead which were in it, and Death and Hell delivered up the Dead which were in them : And they were judged every Man according to their Works. And whosoever was not found written in the Book of Life, was cast into the Lake of Fire.* These Things are handled more diffusely than they are by *Daniel*, but the former exactly agree with the latter, as the *Revelations* are wont to do.

Let us now attend to the Discourse of Christ concerning the Proceedings of the last Judgment, and the Sentence that is pronounced

nounced both upon the Good and the Wicked. *Matt. xxv. 31. &c. When the Son of Man shall come in his Glory, and all the Holy Angels with him, then shall he sit upon the Throne of his Glory. And before him shall be gathered all Nations; and he shall separate them one from the other, as a Shepherd divideth his Sheep on his Right Hand; and the Goats on his Left. Then shall the King say unto them on his Right Hand; Come, ye Blessed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you from the Beginning of the World. Then shall he say also to them on his Left Hand, Depart from me, ye Cursed, into the Fire prepared for the Devil and his Angels. Thus saith Christ in the foresaid Passage. It is added in some other Places, that the Saints and the Apostles will sit together in Judgment with him, 1 Cor. vi. 2, 3. Revel. xx. 4.*

If we compare these other like Passages of the sacred Writings, this will be the Representation of the last Judgment, this its dreadful Appearance. A large burning Throne being erected, Christ sits upon it as Judge, and with him sit the Holy Apostles. Christ is attended and surrounded with his Ministers and Guards and Angels. Then the Dead are placed before the Tribunal pale and trembling, summoned

by the Trumpet's Clangor. Which Things being thus set in Order, and Silence commanded, the Register is brought, or the Memorial Books, in which the Deeds, Words, Thoughts of every one, throughout his former Life are marked: These being opened and read, every one's Cause is determined according to his Works, or conformably to what he did in the Body. Then all Things being weighed and examined, the Wicked being placed on the Left Hand, and the Good on the Right, the Judge pronounces Sentence, a Sentence for the Wicked ineffably dire: *Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting Fire*; but a Sentence transporting and beatifying for the Good: *Come, ye Blessed of my Father, possess the Kingdom prepared for you from the Foundations of the World.*

In this Idea of the future universal Judgment, there are some Things, without doubt theatrically spoken, conformably to the Manner of a human Court of Judicature, Things that will not happen literally upon the Day of Judgment. In this Part of the Subject, I believe, we shall have no Adversary: In the other Part, likewise, it is manifest, that several Things will be literally accomplished, according as they are related. Christ will descend from Heaven personally, and visibly

visibly attended with his Angelick Guards, upon whose Coming the Dead will be raised, in order to undergo some Examination or Probation, upon which every one's Destiny will depend. But that these Things will be actually done under the Command and Conduct of Christ, the sacred Scripture abundantly testifies, *Matt. xvi. 27. John v. vi. 8.* and in numerous other Places.

You see now that in this Representation of the last Judgment, there is a Mixture of the Vulgar and the secret Hypothesis. It is the Part of a wise Man to distinguish what, and how much belongs to each of them. The Trial of Souls, in order to punish or reward them, according as each of them is undefiled or wicked, is the Main of the Affair, the Design, and the End of it. Nor is it of much Significancy, whether this Trial proceeds, after the Manner of external Judicatures, or a human Process, or by any other Way; provided it is effectual, and obtains the End designed by it. Some of the Antients were of Opinion, that this Trial, at the Burning of the World, was to be performed by Fire, of which we shall speak immediately. However, this is manifest; that the Style of the sacred Writers, in representing this judicial Proceeding, is accommodated to human Customs and In-

stitutions; and that neither Books nor Registers will be found in the Air, nor the History of his past Life be recited to every Individual. That every one will deserve the Fate which he meets with, will sufficiently appear by the Testimony of his own Conscience, and that State of Mind, in which he will be actually found.

But we have said that these Things are in a great Measure accommodated to human Customs and Institutions, and particularly to the Doctrines and the religious Belief of the Heathens, who constituted Judges in the infernal World, Observers of Justice and Equity, and the Rewarders and Revengers of human Actions. Their Names and their Business, and their various Punishments which they inflicted upon flagitious Men, are sufficiently known from the *Grecian* Authors.

*Plato* above all of them, has copiously treated of this Matter in several Places, as in his *Phædo*, and towards the End of his *Gorgias*, and in his Tenth Book of a *Commonwealth*, under the Person of *Herus Arminius*, who was come back from Hell to make the Relation. But these and several other Things, which relate to the infernal World, and to the State of the Dead, were borrowed by the *Grecians* from the *Egyptians*,



tians, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, which he says, were begun by *Orpheus*, whom afterwards several *Grecian* Poets and Theologues followed.

But these Things by-the-by. What is more worthy of Remark, is, that some among the Ancients were of Opinion, that there was no personal Ministry, no artful Pomp or Ornament, in the Distribution of Justice to human Souls; but that the Nature of Things was by divine Providence so prepared and ordered, that it would spontaneously distribute Justice to every Soul that should be freed from its mortal Body. And, therefore, they gave the Name of *Nemesis*, and sometimes of *Adrastia*, to this Force of God or Nature: *Anapodra-  
ston aitian ousan Kata phusin*, because, they believed no Body able to fly from this Cause thus appointed by Nature: As the Author of the Treatise *de Mundo*, *Lib. xiv. sub finem.* says. In the same Manner *Adrastia*, or *Nemesis*, is said by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, to be the Avenger of wicked Actions, and the Rewarder of the Good. Whom, says he, *antient Theologues* imagining to be the Daughter of Justice, teach us, that she oversees all earthly Things from hidden and remote Eternity; that she the Sovereign Queen of Causes, the Imperial Arbitress of Things;

*Things; that she be the deciding and determining Judge, mingles the Lots in the fatal Urn, and absolutely governs and disposes of the Vicissitudes of human Affairs.*

But this Force implanted in the Nature of Things. This Force, that is able thus to distinguish and to distribute Justice to every one in a future State, has not been so well explained by ancient Philosophers or Theologists, as to make it evident by what Methods and what Causes this can be effected without a judicial Process. Some of the Christian Fathers, as we observed above, were of Opinion, that this Probation would be effected, and this Judgment executed by Fire, at the general Conflagration of the World; in which they believed that the Souls of all those would be involv'd, who were formerly Inhabitants of this Earth; and that, according to the Degree of their Purity or Impurity, they would receive more or less, or no Damage at all from it. And this Opinion is founded upon St. Paul's Discourse to the *Corinthians*, 1 *Epist.* iii. 3. in these Words: *Every Man's Work shall be made manifest; for that Day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by Fire; and the Fire shall try every Man's Work, of what Sort it is.* Origen against Celsus says, *That this last Fire, would be the Fire that*  
*would*

would purge the World. And then he adds, *Not only the World, but, in all Probability, every individual Soul that should have Occasion for it, either for a Remedy, or for a Punishment; burning and not consuming those in whom this Fire finds no Matter to work upon, and to consume; but both burning and consuming those who build the figurative Edifice of their Actions, Words, and Thoughts, of Wood, and Hay, and Straw; And in the Sequel he further adds, This Doctrine, therefore, promises that they only shall be untouched by this Conflagration, and this Punishment, whom it finds pure and cleansed, both with Regard to their Doctrines, their Manners, and their Actions; but for them who are unlike these, and who deserve to undergo this fiery, and this penal Dispensation, 'tis necessary that for a certain Time the Punishment should be inflicted on them, which God thinks fit to inflict on them, who being formed after the Image of divine Nature, have yet the Will of God in Contempt, and do not endeavour to make their Lives answerable to that divine Image.* But as this Doctrine of the Trial of Souls by the last Fire, cannot be demonstrated by the Light of Nature, its Champions declare, that it is founded on the sacred Writings, and chiefly, as we said above, on the foresaid Discourse of

St. Paul to the *Corinthians*; which we shall therefore propose to be examined as succinctly as may be.

Numerous Disputes have arisen concerning that Passage of the Apostle. But as for the Business that we have with it, the whole Controversy depends upon two Words; and the Interpretation of them, *viz.* what the Apostle understood by the Word *Day*, or *that Day*, and what he understood by *Fire*. Some Persons here understand a metaphorical Fire, Tribulation and Affliction: But we, that real and natural Fire, which will destroy the World: And by *Day*, they likewise mean the Day of Temptation; but we, the Day of Judgment, or the Day of the Lord. And as this is the common, and most simple Interpretation, it may several Ways be proved to be the true one: As, first, by parallel Places, in which we meet with the same Word *Day*, and where it has the same Force, and the same Signification, which we have given it here; as in *1 Thess. v. 4.* *But ye, Brethren, are not in Darknes, that that Day shall overtake you as a Thief.* Here the Day of the Lord is understood, as is evident from the second Verse. But what that Day of the Lord is; which comes as a Thief in the Night, St. Peter explains, when he says,

2 *Ep.*

2 Epist. iii. 10. it is the same in which the World is to be destroyed by Fire: *But the Day of the Lord will come as a Thief in the Night, in the which the Heavens shall pass away with a great Noise, and the Elements shall melt with fervent Heat; the Earth also, and the Works that are therein shall be burnt up.* And the Word *Day* is used in the same Sense, by the Apostle in his Epistle to the *Hebrews*, when he says, Chap. x. 25. *That they should exhort one another, and so much the more as they see the Day approaching.* Where the Word *Day*, plainly denotes the Day of the Lord, the Day of Judgment, and of the Conflagration, as is apparent from ver. 27. Besides, the Word *Day*, emphatically spoken, is the same Thing with *e emera ekeine*, the *Day of the Lord*. But it is sufficiently known, that in the sacred Writings, that Expression always signifies, the Day of the Lord, or the Day of Judgment, 2 *Thess.* i. 10. 2 *Tim.* i. 12, and 18. iv. 8.

Secondly, The Word *Day*, mentioned at first by the Apostle without Limitation, is afterwards limited and determined by the Words that immediately follow; it is a *Day that is revealed in Fire, en puri apokaluptetai*, a fiery Day in the Revelation of the Lord, *en te apokalupsei tou kuriou en puri*

*puri phlogos*; as the same Apostle says afterwards to the *Thessalonians*, 2 *Epist.* i. 7. Nor is there the least Room to doubt, but that these two Passages regard the same Time, and the same Thing; whether the Word *revealed*, *apokaluptetai*, relates to *Day*, or the Lord, or the Work itself. Indeed the Coming of the Lord in the sacred Writings is wont to be called *Apokalupsis*, or *Revelation*, and is marked and shewn by *Fire*, as every one knows; and therefore is both Ways answerable to this Place. Besides, another Mark and Characteristick of this Day is, that it is *emera delotike*, *viz.* a Day of Manifestation; by which Expression is meant no less the Day of the Lord, or the Day of Judgment according to what follows in the next Chapter, 1 *Cor.* iv. 5. *Therefore judge nothing before the Time, until the Lord come, who both will bring to Light the hidden Things of Darknes, and will make manifest the Counsels of the Hearts; and then shall every Man have Praise of God.* And the same Thing is said to the *Romans*, Chap. ii. 16.

You may add to these Proofs, if you please, the Interpretations of the Fathers, and of several others. *Theodoret* upon the Place, after he has explained the divers Species of Matter, as Gold, Silver, Wood,  
Hay,

Hay, Stubble, subjoins, *Ten de ton ulon dia-phoran ouk o paron Bios, all' o mellon, elengzei, touto gar eipen [e gar emera delofei] anti tou, e tes Kriseos.* But it is not the present, but the Life to come, that will distinguish and make known the several Species of Matter; for the Apostle said, *The Day will declare it, instead of the Day of Judgment will declare it.* Then he adds upon the following Verse; *In the Day of the glorious Appearance of the Lord, there will be an Examination and a strict Enquiry; and the Fire will render them who have lived righteously, like Silver and Gold, more bright, but will consume those who have been Workers of Iniquity, like Wood, and Hay, and Stubble.* And *Theophylact* upon the Passage, says the very same Thing. By the Day, the Apostle means the Day of Judgment: He says, *That the Works of Men will be revealed by Fire, that is, the Fire will make it evident of what Nature they are; whether they are of Gold, or of what other Kind.* *St. Basil, Nazianzen, and Nyssen, St. Jerom,* and generally all the Fathers, especially the *Greek Fathers,* explain the Word Day after the same Manner. *Lastly, The Latin Version* following either the Fathers, or some old Manuscript, has the Word *Lord* expressly here.

Thus far concerning the Word *Emera, Day*. The other Word upon which the Explication of this Passage depends, is, *Pur*, or *Fire*: But if we agree upon the Signification of the first Word *e Emera, Day*, and take it to be evident that in this Place it denotes the Day of the Lord, or the Day of Judgment, the Signification of the other Word, *Fire*, will meet with little Doubt: For it must be such as will attend upon the Day and coming of our Lord, that is to say, it must be a real and material Fire; and they who here pretend, that a metaphorical and figurative Fire ought to be understood, offend against the Rule received by the Interpreters of the sacred Writings, which is, that we should never depart from the Letter without Necessity. Now this is certain, that upon the coming of the Lord there will be no want of a real Fire, when the Earth and the Heavens are all in a Blaze; nor can there be the least Reason for fancying this metaphorical Fire, besides the other real one, and for nauseously repeating their own Metaphor thrice in the same Discourse.

Hitherto we have shewn the Day and the Coming of the Lord, and that a genuine and real Fire is here meant by the Apostle; but the chief Difficulty is still remaining, and that is, concerning the Force and Influence



fluence of this Fire, how it can try or make every Man's Work manifest, that it may be truly, *Pur dokimasticon Kai diakritikon*, a searching and distinguishing Fire. Works and Actions that are past, can never be recalled to a Trial by Fire: That indeed is certain; but then the Habits and Dispositions of Mind, from whence those Actions flowed, remain; and the Souls in which they are inherent, according as they are more or less pure, will be more or less affected by this Fire. But you will say, perhaps, that Fire cannot act upon unbodied Minds, or upon Natures purely spiritual; that they may feel the Force and the Action of Fire, they must be invested in some Body. We are not able fully and clearly to solve this Difficulty; but when there is the same Difficulty concerning the infernal Fire, which yet is universally granted, a common Scruple ought not to detain us, or to give us much Trouble. Since the Things themselves are evident, both of them, as to the Matter, ought to be referred to the *secret Dispensation*. In the mean while, that we may bring more Light \* to this Opinion, and may  
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\* *John Erigen de Prædest. c. 19.* says, that the Bodies of the Saints will be changed into an æthereal Substance, which Fire shall have no Power over: But that those of  
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come as near to demonstrate the Thing, as possibly can be done, we resolve to consult some other Passages of the sacred Scripture, which seem to express the very same Notion, or, at least, to imply it; to which we shall afterwards add the Explications and Tenets of some of the Fathers, concerning the same Opinion.

As for the Scripture, to this Opinion may be referred the Saying of Christ concerning the fiery Sacrifice, and that other of *John* the Baptist, concerning the twofold Baptism; that of Water, and that of Fire. The Words of Christ are these: *For every Man shall be salted with Fire, as also, every Sacrifice is salted with Salt.* *Matt.* ix. 49. xxxi. 11. † For I am of the Opinion with others, that this Passage is to be so translated and understood, as if *kai* were a Comparative, as it is in several other Places, *Matt.* vi. 10. *John* vi. 57. for Christ speaks here of the future Destiny of Men, as appears by the Context, and of a certain Trial and Purification of them: But when he says, *Pas Puri alisthesetai*, he seems to join Fire and Salt, each of which has an ab-  
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the Wicked shall be changed into an aërial Substance, that will yield to the Force of Fire, and may be consumed by it.

† *Pas gar puri alisthesetai kia pasa thusa ali alisthesetai.*

sterfive Quality. Salt prevents Putrefaction in soft and humid Bodies; but Fire softens, melts, and purifies the hardest, and purges off the Filthiness, and Rust and Dross, and Dregs of Metals, and clearing them of their Imperfections, refines, and gives them a new Lustre and Purity. Thus some believe that the Souls of Men, which the Apostle in this figurative Sentence compares to Metals, are, as it were, melted down again, and recast in this general Conflagration; or that every Man who is acceptable to God, shall be seasoned with a certain Acrimony of Grief, as it were with Salt; but that the Wicked are to be purged by Fire, or, like a Sacrifice, to be consumed by it. It is probable, indeed, from the foregoing Verses that this relates to the last Fire; but these Expressions of Christ appear too obscure to have any singular Doctrine or Conclusion founded upon them.

I now come to *John* the Baptist, who makes mention of a twofold Baptism, that of Water, and that of Fire; as the Antients affirmed, that the World was to be purged in a twofold Manner by Water, and by Fire. *I, indeed, says the Baptist, baptize you with Water unto Repentance; but he that cometh after me shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with Fire, Matt. iii. 11.*

That

That this Saying has a Regard not only to the Times of the Góspel, but likewise to the second coming of Christ, may be proved by that which follows: *Whose Fan is in his Hand, and he will thoroughly purge his Floor and gather his Wheat into the Garner, but he will burn up the Chaff with unquenchable Fire.*

*Baptism* is said to be *Loutron tes palingenesias kai anakainoseos*, the washing of Regeneration and Renovation; *Tit. iii. 5.* And the Renovation of the World by Fire, is usually called by the Grecians, *Palingenesia* and *anakainosis*, Regeneration and Renovation. Washing is twofold, warm and cold; the Cold Bath is the washing with Water; the Hot and the Dry is the fiery Bath: But this latter is more effectual than the former, and more penetrating. They who allow that there is that Virtue and that Efficacy, the holy Spirit co-operating, in the baptismal Water, that by it Infants are regenerated, will hardly be able to deny, that the Fire must have a much greater Power, the same Spirit co-operating. The Holy Ghost descended in fiery Tongues, which also is called a *Baptism*, as if it were a Type of the future fiery Baptism. The Deluge of Water was the Baptism of the World. The Deluge of Fire will better deserve that  
 Title,

Title, will purge more strongly and more sharply, and will wash away its Filthiness more efficaciously: And as God can restrain the Power of the Flames to that Degree, that they shall not so much as touch a human Body, as in the *Babylonian Furnace*; so he can so redouble their Strength and their Intensity, that they shall penetrate the very Souls of Men, or rather those new Bodies to which their Souls will then be joined.

These Quotations have we made from sacred Writings, \* to prove or to illustrate the aforesaid Opinion: To which we have the Consent and the Agreement of several of the antient Fathers, whose Testimonies, it will now be Time to add. We brought *Origen* before, from his fifth Book against *Celsus*; to which Passage there is another in the Fourth, that is near akin: The Words are these, *We do not deny but that this purging and cleansing Fire, will, together with the World, destroy all Malice, since we have learnt this in the sacred Books of the Prophets.*

\* That Saying of Christ, *Matt. xii. 32. That there is no Remission for Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost*, either in this World or the other, has been variously explained by Interpreters: They that take it literally can understand it of no other Remission, than that which is obtained by the purging Fire at the End of the World.

*phets.* He explains this Doctrine more at large in his Commentaries: In his third Homily upon the thirty sixth *Pſalm*, after he has told that all Men whatever, the Apoſtles themſelves not excepted, would undergo this fiery Trial, he compares that Ocean of Fire, which would be at the general Conflagration, to the *Red Sea*, and the Wicked and the Righteous to the *Egyptians* and the *Iſraelites*, and that theſe latter would paſs through that *Red Sea*, or that Lake of Fire, without either Hurt or Pain, but that the former would be ſwallowed up by it. In his ſixth Homily upon *Exodus* he gives us the ſame Doctrine expreſly, and calls this purging and cleaning Fire, *into which*, he ſays, *that we muſt all enter, a fiery Forge.* And likewise in the thirteenth Homily upon *Jeremiab*, repeating the ſame Doctrine, he calls this laſt Conflagration by another Name, taken from the ſacred Writings, *viz.* a *Baptiſm*, or *Bath of Fire.* *Laſtly*, that I may paſs by ſeveral Things related to theſe, in the End of the eighth Book of his \* Commentaries upon the Epistle to the *Romans*, he has theſe Words: *But he who deſpiſes the Word of God,*

\* The Place of *Origen* is in *S. Sen.* but ſee the Place itſelf, and if he ſays it ought to be concealed as a *Mystery.*

God, and the Purifications of the Doctrine of the Gospel, reserves himself for dire and tormenting Purifications. ----- But whatever Space of Time, or how many Ages, this very purging and cleansing, which is performed by penal Fire, will torture Sinners who are to undergo it, he only can know to whom the Father has transferred all Judgment.

Nor ought we to fancy, as some imagine, that this Opinion concerning this fiery Purgation and Trial, is peculiar to Origen, when it was common to almost all the Fathers, 'till the Time when St. *Austin* lived. *Lactantius*, especially, says the same Thing plainly, both of the Just and the Unjust. When God shall sit in Judgment, says he, even the Just will be examine by Fire; then they whose Sins shall be found excessive, either for their Weight, or their Number, shall be scorcb'd and consum'd by the Fire, but they, whom impartial Justice and mature Virtue shall have compleatly armed, shall remain untouch'd by the Flames; for they have something of Divinity in them, which will reject them, and repel them. *Hilary*, Bishop of *Poitou*, no less boldly affirms this; nor does he wholly exempt the blessed Virgin from passing through these Flames. How, says he, can we desire to come to that Judgment

ment by which we are to endure the Pains of unquenchable Fire, in which we are to undergo the most grievous Torments for the expiating the Sins of our Souls. A Sword has passed through the Soul of the blessed Mary, that the Thoughts of the Hearts of many might be revealed. If, therefore, that Virgin, who was capable of comprehending a God in her, must undergo the Severity of Judgment, what Mortal shall dare to desire to have that God for his Judge? And in the second Canon upon the Third of St. Matthew, when he explains that, *shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with Fire; it remains, says he, that we who have been baptized with the Holy Ghost, must be made perfect by the Judgment and Baptism of Fire.*

St. Ambrose treading in the same Footsteps, and supported, as appears to him, by the Authority of sacred Scripture, discourses after the same Manner concerning the future Judgment, and the Trial in the Day of the Lord. *Thou hast try'd us with Fire, said David. Psal. xxxvi. therefore we shall all of us be tried by Fire.* And Malachi says, *Behold he comes, the Lord, the Almighty God, and who shall abide the Day of his coming? and who shall stand when he appeareth? For he shall come like the Fire of*



a Furnace; and he shall sit as a Refiner and a Purifier of Silver; and he shall purify the Sons of Levi. Therefore, the Sons of Levi shall be purified with Fire, with Fire Ezekiel, and Daniel with Fire, &c. with several other Things that have the same Tendency. Again in the Exposition of *Psalms* cxviii. All those who desire to return to Paradise must be tried by Fire, &c. And this, says he, is signified by the flaming waving Sword that is placed at the Entrance of Paradise. Lastly, He thus concludes, Since therefore, we are thus to be tried, let us so comport ourselves, that we may merit the Approbation of the divine Justice. Let us hold fast our Humility while we are here, that when each of you shall come to the Judgment of God, to those Fires through which we must all pass, he may say, Behold my Humility, Lord, and deliver me.

*Basilus Magnus* was of the same Age and Opinion, and sufficiently declares his Mind in his Commentaries upon the first Chapters of *Isaiab*. And, first, in his Commentary on the fourth Chapter, when the Prophet speaks of washing away the Filth of the Daughters of Jerusalem by the Spirit of Judgment, and by the Spirit of Burning; here *Basilus* distinguishes the Baptism of Water, from that of the Spirit, and

and both from that of Burning, which, says he, is *e en to puri tes kriseos Basanos*, *The Trial that in the Day of Judgment will be made by Fire.* And he adds, *These Words*, says he, *by the Spirit of Judgment, and by the Spirit of Burning, relate to the Trial that will be made by Fire in the Life to come:* With several Things besides to the same Purpose. Besides, upon that of the Prophet, in the ninth Chapter, *Because of the Indignation of the Lord, &c.* he says, *He shews that all that is earthly, is, for the Benefit of the Soul, to be committed to penal Fire.* He then adds, *The Prophet here does not threaten a total Destruction, an universal Extermination, but points at a Purification, according to the Opinion of the Apostle. If any Man's Work shall burn, he shall suffer Damage, but he himself shall be saved, yet so as by Fire.* See also, if you please, his *Treatise of the Holy Ghost*, Chap. xv. and xxix. And his Observations upon several Passages in *Isaiab.* †

So much for *Basilus*, to whom we may join both the *Gregories*, *Nyssen* and *Naxianzen*,

† And in his *Heptaameron*, where he treats of the Formation of the Sun, p. 61. he asserts, that in the future Conflagration, its enlightening Quality will be separated from the burning Quality; so that the former will affect the Righteous, and the latter the Wicked.

*anzen*, who both agree with *Basilus*. But *Nyssen* is the plainer of the two, in the Explication of this Doctrine; and, therefore, *Germanus*, the *Constantinopolitan* Patriarch, writ an Apologetick Discourse, on Purpose to free his Author from the Imputation of that Opinion, and from other Things relating to that Opinion, as from so many Spots and Stains, which are here and there scattered among his Works, as you may see in *Photius*: But all in vain. Consult at your Leisure, *Nyssen's Treatise of the Soul, and the Resurrection*, and his *Catechetical Orations*, c. viii, xxvi, and xxxv. and, upon reading those you will easily discover what was the Sense of the Author relating to this Matter. \*

*Naxianzen* seems to have a good deal in him of the Manner of *Plato* and *Origen*; and even in this Subject, as well as in others: But Orators, and all that harangue the People, sometimes speak popularly and sometimes their real Sentiments; which, in reading the Fathers, a sensible Reader always

\* Moreover, in his *Oration for the Dead*, he has these Words about the purifying of Souls: *They are either purify'd in this Life by Prayers and Philosophy, or after Death by the Means of a purifying Fire.* Nor is it any Wonder that *Nyssen* followed *Basil* so closely; since in his *Hexaem*, p. 2, and 5. he esteems his Writings next to those that were divinely inspired, and equals them even to those of *Moses*.

ways ought to observe; and the more, what he says, differs from the Notions of the People, the more it discovers the real Sense of the Author. Consult, if you please, his thirty ninth, and his fortieth Oration, where he treats of the Baptism of Fire, in order to purge the Soul, and at the same time doubts, whether there are any such Things as everlasting Punishments. *Lastly*, in his twenty sixth Oration, where he speaks of the Censurers of this Doctrine, he has these Words, *God only knows, says the divine Apostle, and the Day of Revelation and the last Fire will make it clearly appear, that Fire in which every Thing that belongs to Humanity must be either tried or purged.*

*Lastly*, St. *Jerom* is accused by *Rufinus* of being a secret Favourer of the Doctrines of *Origen*, as is very well known, the most distinguished of which, is, that which puts an End to the Punishments of the Damned as soon as their Malice is purged away. 'Tis none of my Business to reconcile this Quarrel between St. *Jerom* and *Rufinus*; but as for what relates to the Subject I am now upon, St. *Jerom* seems at several Times to incline to more Sides than one, either by changing or dissembling his Sentiments. And here I must repeat what I said a little above, that those Things go further towards

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covering the real Sentiments of an Author, which he delivers contrary to the Sense of the People, than those which are spoke popularly, or which may be popularly understood. In the mean Time, for what immediately concerns the Matter which we are upon, the purging and cleansing Souls in the Day of Judgment, and the putting an End, at length, to the Torments which they endure, (besides what he says upon the fourth Chapter of *Amos*,) he clearly and distinctly opens his Mind, at the End of his Commentaries upon *Isaiab*, in these Words: *And as we believe that the Torments of the Devil, will be eternal, and of those Sinners and impious Persons who have said in their Hearts there is no God; so for those Sinners, and those impious Persons who are yet Christians, and whose Works are to be tryed and purged by Fire, we believe that the Sentence of the Judge will be moderate, and will be mingled with Mercy.* But at the same Time he gives us a Caution against spreading this Doctrine among the Vulgar, lest they should abuse it, and grow more Licentious upon it. But when St. *Jerom* excepts Demons and Atheists, and Apostates, he, by that Exception, confirms the Rules as to those who are not excepted, and he shews in another

Place that he differs from *Origen*; after this Manner, and by this Distinction. \*

It is sufficient to have made these Observations from the Fathers who lived before the Time of *St. Austin*, in whose Time this Doctrine began to degenerate, of the Purgation of Souls by the last Fire, at the Day of Judgment. I say, it began to degenerate into a spurious and adulterate Purgatory, and into an imaginary Fire, no where to be found in the Universe; which Fire, according to the Invention of these Innovators, receives human Souls immediately after their Separation from their Bodies; yes, receives them before the Day of Judgment, before the coming of our Lord, before the Conflagration of the World, receives them and torments them. This we may very justly call a *Supposititious Purgatory*; because forsooth, these worthy Doctors in the Room of genuine Cathartick Fire, of which Mention is made by the sacred Writers, and by the antient Fathers, have sub-

\* To these *Suicerus* (under the Word *Baptismus*, p. 630.) adds *Nazianzen* and *Damascene*. Consult the Places quoted by him. To these add *Cæsarius Arlatensis*, who says, that some Sins of the Justified will be expiated by Fire after the Resurrection. Look for the Place in the Author in *B. B. P. P.* as *Cave* cites him. *Chryostome* is likewise quoted to the same Purpose, but the Place does not occur to me at present.

substituted one of a very different Kind, the adulterate Off-spring of their own Brains. The purging Fire that is spoke of in the sacred Writings, and mentioned by the Fathers, is to be a Fire kindled in the Day of the Lord, in the Day of Judgement, in the Day of the Conflagration of the World, as is most evident from those Authors and Passages which we have cited above. But the Papists pretend, that their purging Fire is burning at this Day, nay, and has been burning ever since the World began, that is, ever since Death entered into the World, and the Souls of Transgressors departed from their Bodies, with all their Uncleanness about them. But in what Part of the Globe, I beseech you, is this Fire buruing? Is it beyond the Ocean in the other Hemisphere? or is it here in ours? by what Instinct do human Souls spontaneously repair to it? or by what potent Lictor are they dragged to it, in spite of their Reluctancy? There is no such Fire as this to be found, such vast, such lasting, such perpetual Fire, upon the Superficies of this Globe; for by its own Light it would be discovered; and if it lies buried in the Bowels of the Earth, it would, at least, require some Vent, some Breathing-place, like that of our mountainous *Volcano's*,

that it might not be suffocated by its own Smoak, and its own fuliginous Vapours. In Things which relate to the natural World, or any Particular of it, Divines are often incurious or unskilful, and therefore they bring forth crude Opinions, and indigested Thoughts, foreign from the Nature of Things. Behold this great and this dreadful Fire, which these Doctors have kindled for us, but they neither acquaint us with the Original of so vast a Fire, nor with the Fuel by which 'tis fed, nor with any proper and commodious Place where it may subsist and vent itself. These Things say they, the People are never concern'd about. It is true, indeed, but then by the Wise this will be esteemed a fantastical Fire, of which no Account can be given, and it is next to Stupidity to lose Men of Sense, in order to gain Fools. It is both a Crime and a Weakness in the Popish Religion, that it descends too much to the Capacities of the People, and not only accommodates itself to their Ignorance, but to their superstitious Affections. We ought rather to exalt human Nature as high as is possible, and to bring the People to Truth, and to a sound Understanding. Ever since there have been Men in the World, the Knowledge of Mankind has increased, and  
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increases daily: And whatever the Case was formerly, there is now no Necessity of using pious Frauds, and no Advantage can accrue to Religion from them. They rather seem to be detrimental to Piety and Christian Faith; when discerning Men who find the Deceit, rashly pronounce, from the Artifice that is us'd in some particular Parts of it, that the whole of Religion is nothing but a gainful Mystery. First, that the Christian Religion is to be purged from human Inventions, and from human Additions; then, those Things which, in the sacred Writings, are spoken after the Manner of Men, and adapted to the Capacity of the Vulgar, are so to be interpreted, that they may neither be detrimental to Truth itself, nor Stumbling-Blocks to the Wise.

But these Things by-the-by.

But enough has been said by way of Inquiry into the Manner of the last Judgement, the Punishments that will be the Sequel of it, and the Distinction that is to be made between righteous and wicked Men; what will be the Pomp and Magnificence of its dreadful Appearance, and what will be transacted by influence Divine or by the Power of Nature. The Opinion of the antient Fathers in this Matter has an Appearance of Truth, and seems to be found-

founded on the sacred Writings; but since Revelation in this Matter is neither full nor explicit, nor is the Light of Nature powerful enough to penetrate to the Bottom of this Mystery, I look upon this Article of the Christian Doctrine, as for the Thing itself, to be among the Points that are clear, but as to the Manner of it, to be among the obscure ones.

Besides, several Disputes are wont to arise here, concerning the Signs antecedent to the general Judgment, and concerning the Time and Duration of it; concerning each of which we have given our Opinion in the forefaid *Treatise of the Conflagration of the World*. I only desire to add one Thing, and that is, that the Christians of the first Ages, in their Accounts of Time, made a wrong Calculation; for they believed in common, that the Day of the Lord was coming upon them then, or that it would be at least in the Age in which they lived; But though seventeen Centuries have passed since then, that happy Day has not yet shone forth, nor have we hitherto discerned so much as the Dawn of it.

This Opinion, that the End of all things was coming upon them, began in Apostolick Times; from which it ran down for  
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several Ages, as well to the \* Learned as to the People. But when they found they were mistaken in the first Account, by which they daily expected the coming of the Lord, or at least immediately after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, they carried their Hope and their Expectation to a greater Length of Time, but never to a very remote one. That this Opinion began in the very Times of the Apostles, the Epistles both of *St. Paul* and *St. Peter* testify. *St. Paul*, in the second Epistle to the *Thessalonians*, warns them against being terrified, as if the Day of the Lord were at Hand; *For first*, says he, *Antichrist must come*. But he neither acquaints them with the Time of his coming nor with the Time of his Staying: All that he tells them is, that he will stay 'till the

\* *Tertull. de Cult. Fœm.* l. 2. c. 9. and *ad Uxor.* l. 1. c. 5. *Lactant.* l. 7. c. 14, and 25, *Ambrose Orat. in Obit. Satyri frat.* and l. 9. upon *Luke* xxi. *Chrysof. Hom.* xxxiii, upon *John*, near the End. *Ferom. Epist. xi. ad Ageruchiam*, and l. 4. on *Matt.* xxv. Many of the Antients believed, that the coming of Christ would immediately follow the coming of Antichrist, whom they thought to be at hand just then, and consequently that the coming of the Lord, and the End of the World were very near. See *Tertull. de Rufurr. Carn.* c. 27, *Cyprian*, his Disciple, *Epist. ad Tribaritanos*, m. 56. and *Epist.* 58. *ad Lucium Pap.* and *Præfat. ad Fortunatum de exhor. Martyrii*, with many others. See 1 *John* ii. 18. and 2 *Thess.* ii. 8.

the coming of Christ. Then those Scoffers which we read of in St. *Peter's* second Epistle, *Chap. iii. 4.* would hardly have upbraided the Christians with the tardy coming of their Lord; would hardly have asked them by way of Derision, *Where is the Promise of his coming?* unless the Christians had often professed and declared their Belief in the Promise of his sudden coming; nor does the Apostle, in his Answer or Apology, deny the Thing, but attributes this Delay to the Mercy and long-suffering of God.

But why should we wonder that private Christians, or Christians of a lower Class, should be mistaken in this Particular, when the Interpreters gather, that the Apostles themselves, from their own Writings, were of the same Opinion: Nor do they only conclude it from this, that the Apostles often call those Times, and that current Century, the last of Times, and the End of the World, (*1 Cor. x. 11. Heb. ix. 26. 1 John ii. 18.*) but from their using it as a Spur, or a more pungent Argument to excite the Christians of their own Times to Vigilance, to Sobriety, to Moderation in the Use of Worldly Things; to Patience, to good Works, to Charity, and to Piety.

(*Heb.*

(*Heb.* x. 24, 25. *1 Pet.* iv. 7, 8. *1 Cor.* vii. 29. *2 Pet.* iii. 11, 12. *Phil.* iv. 5.) Lastly, from their believing that the coming of the Lord, and the Day of Judgment might come upon them while they were yet living. *St. Paul* often inculcates that, *1 Thes.* iv. 15, 16, 17. *1 Cor.* xv. 52. And, that his mortal Body would be swallowed up of Life, that is, by an immortal quickening Body, [he either believes or desires,] and that he may not be found naked, or divested of Flesh and corporeal Substance in the Day of the Lord, *2 Cor.* v. 3, 4.

Thus much for the Apostles and their Belief, concerning the untimely coming of Christ. But from whence did the Apostles derive this Opinion? Why, it seems from the Words of Christ himself, not rightly understood. *Matt.* xxiv. 3. His Disciples had enquired of Christ what would be the Time of the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, and of his own coming. And when Christ had acquainted them with the Signs and Circumstances of that Destruction, he adds, *eutheos meta ten thlipsin, &c. Immediately after the Tribulation of those Days, the Sun shall be darkned, and the Moon shall not give her Light, and the Stars shall fall from Heaven, and the Powers of the Hea-*

*ven shall be shaken: And then shall appear the Sign of the Son of Man in Heaven: And then shall all the Tribes of the Earth mourn, and they shall see the Son of Man coming in the Clouds of Heaven, with Power and great Glory. Matt. xxiv. 29, 30.* Having heard these Things from the Mouth of Christ, that after the Destruction of the City and the Temple, and the Overthrow of the *Jewish* State, he would immediately come, or that the Son of Man would come in Clouds, with Power and great Glory: Having heard this, they believed that there would be but a small Interval of Time between that Destruction and the Return of Christ; and they afterwards transmitted to their Disciples that Knowledge, and that Belief. Besides, when they recollected other Sayings of Christ, it confirm'd and fixed them in the same Opinion; for he said before, that some of those who stood near him should not taste of Death before they saw him coming in the Glory of his Father to Judgment. And in the aforesaid Chapter, after he had spoke concerning his coming, and the Wonders that should attend it, he added, *Verily, I say unto you, there be some standing here, which shall not taste of Death 'till they see the Son of Man coming in his Kingdom: Heaven and Earth shall*

*shall pass away, but my Words shall not pass away.* Lastly, when Peter enquired of Christ, what should be the Fate of John, he answered, *If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?* John xxi. 20, 21.

These Passages being compared together, and understood according to the Letter, I wonder not in the least that the Disciples of Christ should have imbibed the Opinion of his sudden Return to the Earth, to judge the Living and the Dead: And I as little wonder, that Providence would suffer them to fall into these harmless Errors; Errors, by which Piety would be rather promoted than injured; and a noble Resolution to suffer instant Death in the Cause of God, would be rather increased than lessened. Lastly, we ought by no Means to wonder, that God should conceal that from the Apostles, which he had hid from the Angels, and from the Son of Man himself: For, saith Christ, *Mark xiii. 32. Of that Day and Hour knoweth no Man; no, not the Angels which are in Heaven, neither the Son, but the Father; or, as it is in St. Matthew, Chap. xxiv. 36. but my Father only.\**

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And

\* See P. P. of this Way of interpreting this Place, *Gerrard. Tom. 9. de Extrem. Jud. p. 126.*

And thus we have given a Relation of these Things conformable to the Letter and to the History. But if a literal Explication is not so suitable to the Subject of which we treat, we must depart from the Letter, and search and look out for a more commodious Interpretation: But this, at least, is apparent, that the certain Time of the future Judgment, of the coming of the Lord, or of the End of the World, were Things unknown to the Apostles: And the Answer of Christ seems to imply, that we ought not to make too solicitous an Enquiry into them: When the Apostle enquired after the Time of the Restoration of the Kingdom of *Israel*, he says to them, *Acts* i. 7. *It is not for you to know the Times and the Seasons which the Father hath put in his own Power.* But if we are allowed to use a round Calculation, and to insert Conjectures among Certainties; when now five thousand Years compleat, and what is given of the six thousand, are past and gone, since the Creation of the World, I can find nothing in Scripture, or in Reason, or in the Course of human Affairs, that can hinder the Accomplishment of that Prophecy, which has been received by \* *Jews*  
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\* See the History of this Prophecy, *Gerard. Tom 9. de Extrem. Jud. p. 127.*



as well as by the primitive Christians; a Prophecy which allows six thousand Years for the Duration of the World, and then the Sabbath is to ensue: But we have treated of this Subject sufficiently in another Place. In the mean Time, let it be our principal Care that we may be found pure and unblamable in that Day; and that the Trial which we are to undergo, what, or whenever it be, may have a happy Issue, to the Glory of God and our own eternal Salvation.

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C H A P. VII.

*Of the Resurrection of the Dead, and of the State, and the Bodies of those risen from the Dead.*

**T**HUS far we have already gone; but the Chapter of the greatest Consequence, and the most important Concern is still remaining, concerning the Resurrection of the Dead, and in what Condition they will find themselves after they are risen; in the handling which we shall follow our usual Method: In the first Place, we shall speak to the Thing itself, and afterwards to the

the Modes and Adjuncts of it, and that according to the Light we have received either from the sacred Writings, or from the Nature of the Things themselves.

As for the Thing itself, nothing is more clearly revealed than that in the whole Christian Doctrine: Both the *Jews* and the *Gentiles* had likewise some Idea of a future Resurrection, but an Idea that was general and confused. The former believed that the whole World would be reviv'd, and that every Individual of Mankind would, together with the World, be renew'd and reviv'd; and nothing is more commonly found than that among the *Stoicks* and the *Platonicks*: Nor was it only found among the *Grecian* Philosophers, but originally among those of the Eastern Nations, *Egyptians*, *Chaldeans*, *Persians*, *Theopompus*, in *Laërtius*, says, of the *Magi*, *anabiosēsthai kata tous Magous tous anthropous*, that Men lived or would live a second Life, according to the Doctrine of the *Magi*.

As for what relates to the *Jews*, *Moses* in his Law taught them nothing expressly, either concerning the Resurrection of the Body, or the Immortality of the Soul; yet I make no doubt but that both these were  
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known to *Moses* and to the \* *Sages*, instructed by him, and conscious to the secret Doctrine. Afterwards this Doctrine was delivered *Sumbolikos, conjecturally*, by some of the Prophets, and by some of the sacred Canonical Writers more clearly, and at length by *Daniel* the Prophet most perspicuously. But yet this Doctrine of Salvation was not to shine out with a full Meridian Glare, nor to be compleat in all its Parts, nor accomplished in all its Numbers, 'till the Days of the *Messiah*.

In this then, we Christians triumph, upon this joyful Message, that Death being conquer'd, and the infernal World overcome, we shall be brought and restored to  
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\* But they, for the most part, confine the Resurrection to the Just, and to the *Israelites*. See *Buxtor. Syn. Jud.* c. 1. p. 31. and *Gerard de Resurr. Tom. 8. p. 869. Antephen* and *Dassovious*.

Again, they seem to mean the first Resurrection to a terrestrial Life, and to have no further Notion to celestial Bodies.

Some of their Rabbins suppose, likewise, that they are to rise again not only with the same Bodies, but in the same Cloaths also: But they confine all this to the Land of *Canaan*, only, and say, that the Bodies of such *Israelites* as have died in foreign Countries shall return home through some subterraneous Caverns, or, at least, that the Bone Luz shall do so; and from thence, or from its Seed, the whole Body shall grow up again: See *Dassov. de Resurr. mort. Secundum Judeos*.

Light, and to the Enjoyment of a blissful Immortality; not in the coarse Cloathing of these Carcasses which now we carry about us, but in heavenly Bodies; nor living and conversing upon this Dunghill, where we at present languish, but above, in the Brightness of Ætherial Regions, in the charming Seats and Society of Angels, through endless Ages happy. Lift up your Heads then, oh ye Christians! raise your Minds and Thoughts to the Skies! *And since we have these Promises, let us cleanse ourselves from all Filthiness of the Flesh and Spirit, perfecting Holiness in the Fear of God, 1 Cor. vii. 1.* Having sufficiently made these Remarks, let us now, with all our Diligence explore upon what Passages of sacred Scripture, upon what Authority divine, this so exalted Hope of the Christians, this animating, this inspiring Hope, is founded and depends.

In the first Place, Christ himself often asserted, that Men, after Death would rise again, and often promised it to his; and affirm'd, that the Power of doing it was in himself, as Lord of Life, and of Death: And that he was not unable to raise up others, he plainly demonstrates, in that he was able to raise up himself from the Dead. First he maintained the Resurrection against the

*Sadduces*, and maintained it by the strongest Argument that could be drawn from the *Mosaick* Writings, which alone, by Persons of that Sect, were held authentick and canonical: Then he promises Rewards *en te anastasei ton dikaion*, in the Resurrection of the *Just*, to those who are Benefactors to the Needy and the Infirm, from whom in this Life, they can expect no Compensation. But to his Disciples, and to those who lost every Thing that they had in the World, in order to become such, he promises, *Matt. xix. 28*, *en te palingenesia*, at their second Birth, or at their Resurrection, which are greater and more conspicuous. Besides, he openly and clearly affirms, that Dominion over Life and Death is in him, and that he by his own Power, by his own Voice, will cause the Dead to arise from their Graves. First of all, in the Beginning of the *Revelations*, where in these Words he speaks to *St. John*, Chap. i. 17, 18. *I am the first and the last; I am he that liveth for evermore, Amen, and have the Keys of Hell and of Death.* In the next Place, in the Gospel of the same *St. John*, he several Times says the same Thing, Chap. iv. ver. 40. And this is the Will of him that sent me that every one which seeth the Son, and believeth on him, may have everlasting Life:

And I will raise him up at the last Day. In the next Place, in the same Gospel of St. *John*, he says to *Martha* Chap. xi. *I am the Resurrection and the Life: He that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live. And whosoever liveth, and believeth in me, shall never die.* And lastly in the fifth Chapter of the same Gospel Ver. 26, 27, &c. *As the Father hath Life in himself, so hath he given to the Son to have Life in himself. And hath given him Authority to execute Judgment also, because he is the Son of Man. Marvel not at this, for the Hour is coming, when all that are in the Graves shall hear his Voice, and shall come forth; they that have done Good, to the Resurrection of Life; and they that have done Evil, to the Resurrection of Damnation.*

All these Things being taken from the Mouth of Christ himself, abundantly prove the future Resurrection of the Dead. But Faith is animated and confirmed when Facts corroborate Words; and he has given us many Examples, that he is able to perform what he hath promised us. Therefore Christ when he was here upon Earth, did not only cause others to rise from the Dead, which I must confess was formerly done by the Prophets before him, but he likewise raised himself up from the Dead, after  
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he had been crucify'd, dead and buried; for shaking off the Bands of Death on the third Day, the Soul fled back to its sacred Relicks, and inspired them with immortal Life.

'Tis in this, that we Christians glory, in this Victory thus extorted from the last and most potent Enemy, from the King of Terrors. Did ever any of the *Grecian Sages*, or of the *Oriental Magi*, did ever any of the Philosophers of what Name or Nation soever, did ever any of the renown'd Legislators, or lastly, any of the sacred Prophets rise from the Dead, lay down his Life, and resume it; was ever any of those victorious over Death, and return'd to the Living? No, only this our Captain, this our God, led Death and Hell in Triumph: And 'tis from this Conqueror only, that we expect both a joyful Deliverance from Death, and a blissful Immortality.

Nor did this Resurrection from Death happen to Christ, as to one who never thought of it, who never hoped for it, who never in the least expected it, and as an Action performed by an other's Power. He not only knew that this would happen, but he foretold it both to his Disciples and others, and foretold that it would happen within three Days after his Death. He said to the *Jews*, *Mark* viii. 31. *Destroy this Temple,*

*Temple, and in three Days I will raise it up again. But he spoke of the Temple of his Body, says the Interpreting Apostle. John ii. 22. And his Accusers afterwards brought this Saying as a Crime against him. John ii. 19, 21. And the chief Priests and Pharisees remembering this, desired of Pilate that the Sepulchre might be guarded; which was accordingly done. Besides, Christ had said something like this to the Jews before, when they desired of him a Token of his divine Mission: As Jonas was three Days and three Nights in the Body of the Whale, so will the Son of Man be three Days and three Nights in the Heart of the Earth. Matt. xii. 40. This is sufficiently plain, and the Angel reproaches the Woman who came to seek the Body of Christ in the Sepulchre, after he was risen, with the Forgetfulness of those Things: Luke xxiv. 6, 7, 8. He is not here but he is risen: Remember how he spake unto you when he was yet in Galilee, saying, the Son of Man must be delivered into the Hands of sinful Men, and be crucified, and the third Day rise again: And they remembered his Words; as likewise did his Disciples, John ii. 22.*

Nor did he only by Signs and Parables, but very often by express Words, foretel both his Death and his Resurrection, and that



that each of them would be spontaneous. *Therefore doth my Father love me because I lay down my Life, that I might take it up again. No Man taketh it from me, but I lay it down of myself: I have Power to lay it down, and I have Power to take it up again. John x. 18.* Then he says afterwards, *A little while and ye shall not see me; and again a little while and ye shall see me, because I go to the Father;* which he afterwards shews is meant of his Death, and of his second Coming.

And this Power that he had, when he pleased to use it, of preserving his Life safe and inviolable, appeared as clear as the Meridian Sun Day, when his Enemies coming upon him, he all on a Sudden rendered himself invisible, and them confounded and impotent. Nay, by the Virtue of his Look alone, by the very radiant Sight of his Countenance, he terrify'd and dispirited those who came with a Design to destroy him. *John viii. 59. Luke iv. 30.* Lastly, in his Transfiguration upon the Holy Mountain, he converted himself wholly into a vital Flame, as it were, into a refulgent Body, of Angelick Form, or rather of divine Glory. By which Transformation of his Body, he sufficiently shew'd, that he had Life in himself, and that it was in his Power

as often as it was his Pleasure, to trample upon Death, and to swallow up all Mortality. And let me add, since it is to my Purpose, that in this his Glorification, bringing down *Moses* and *Elias* from Heaven, both living, and both immortal, he, in them, gave us Pledges and Examples of our own Immortality, and our future Resurrection; which appeared more openly afterwards, when upon the Resurrection of Christ, divers of the Saints rising together from the Dead with him, appeared to many in *Jerusalem*, *Matt.* xxvii. 52, 53.

Lastly, That I may put an End to this Discourse, Christ did not only rise from the Dead, but he ascended likewise into Heaven: After he had gotten a Victory he triumphed: And being carried in a radiant Cloud, his Disciples beholding him with Astonishment, and Troops of Angels attending him, he returned to his antient Seat, to what was his Country from all Eternity, and to God the Father. This is the only true Apotheosis, which the antient *Cæsars*, and the Heroes of old, and others renown'd in the Heathen World for their surpassing Merit, their Fortitude, and their Wisdom; all of them in vain affected. And now, since Christ our Saviour has said, and has done all this, both among the Living  
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and the Dead, and reigns at length in the Heaven of Heavens, endued with a glorious Body, 'tis but just that we should believe what he has taught, and promised us concerning our own Resurrection to be certain, established and unchangeable.

Having thus compendiously laid before you the Sayings, and the Actions of Christ, which relate to our Resurrection, the Apostolical Doctrine \* of the Resurrection follows concerning the same Subject, which being agreeable to what has been already said, is something more diffuse, and comprehends several Heads: But principally let  
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\* These Testimonies of the Apostles require some farther Consideration. In the first Place then, we must observe, that the Apostles, in their Preachings to the *Jews* and *Gentiles* after Christ was ascended, always began with this Assertion, *That Christ was risen from the Dead*: From whence they established the Christian Religion on a double Foundation, *That Jesus of Nazareth was the Messiah*; and likewise, *That there was to be a future Resurrection from the Dead*. While Jesus was upon Earth, he prov'd himself to be the Messiah by his Miracles, and the concurring Testimonies of the Prophets: But when he was risen from the Dead, and had ascended up into Heaven in the Sight of the Apostles, they thence took a new Argument to demonstrate, both that the same Jesus was the Messiah, and likewise farther, that the Hopes of Christians, concerning a future Resurrection and eternal Life, were firmly founded on him. Hence in the Acts of the Apostles we find, that this Topick was always insisted upon by the first Apostolical Preachers of the Gospel, in all their Sermons. See Examples of this Kind in *Gerard. Tom. viii. de Resurrect. p. 733. c. xvi. and \*\*\*.*

us observe this, that the Resurrection of the Body is never attributed by the Apostles to natural Causes, or natural Power, but always to divine Operation; and very frequently to Christ our Lord, whom alone we have hitherto made the Author of this admirable Work. In that solemn Differtation of *St. Paul*, *1 Cor. xv.* concerning the future Resurrection of the Body, he makes Christ the Author of our Resurrection, both in the Beginning, Middle, and End of his Discourse; to which he gives so strict a Connection with the Resurrection of our Lord, that they must both be granted, or denied together: *If Christ*, says he, *Ver. 12. be preached that he rose from the Dead, how say some among you that there is no Resurrection of the Dead?* Where he supposes our Resurrection to be the undeniable Consequence of the Resurrection of Christ: But then, says he, on the other Side, *Ver. 13, 16. If there be no Resurrection of the Dead, then is Christ not risen:* And therefore, he very justly, in the Beginning of this Discourse, proves the Resurrection of Christ by Abundance of Testimonies, as the Foundation of his Doctrine and Institution concerning our own Resurrection.

Besides, he places the Root of all celestial Life in Christ, as in *Adam*, the Root of all Mor-

Mortality, whom therefore he makes the Type, or the *Antistoikon* of Christ: For as in Adam all Men die, so in Christ shall all be made alive; whom, therefore, he says, was made *eis pneuma Zoopoion*, a quickening Spirit. Lastly, by the same Jesus Christ, he insults over Death and Hell, now conquer'd both and disarm'd, O Death! where is thy Sting? O Grave where is thy Victory? Thanks be to God who giveth us the Victory through Jesus Christ our Lord. For he had said before, For he must reign till he hath put all Enemies under his Feet: The last Enemy that shall be destroy'd is Death; but Death cannot be destroy'd but by an universal Resurrection.

Nor is it only in this Chapter but in others as often as Occasion offers itself, that he teaches us that the Cause and Origin of our Resurrection is founded in that of Christ, and that he, by his Resurrection, was constituted Lord of the Living and of the Dead, and of the future Judgment that is to succeed the Resurrection: For ye are dead, and your Life is hid with Christ in God; but when Christ, who is our Life, shall appear, then ye shall also appear with him in Glory, says the same Apostle to the *Colossians*, Chap. iii. ver. 3, 4. And he says likewise to the *Philippians*, For our Conversation is in

*Heaven, from whence also we look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall change our vile Body that it may be fashion'd like unto his glorious Body, according to the working whereby he is able to subdue all Things to himself.*

I should be tedious if I should here produce more Passages, (especially since they are sufficiently known,) to prove from Christ our Head, *the first born of the Dead* (Col. i. 18.) *the first Fruit of those that sleep,* (1 Cor. xv. 20.) to prove, I say, that from his Influence and his Power the Hope of our Resurrection depends; nor yet does it so far depend upon Christ, that it does not likewise depend originally upon God the Father; both Christ and his Apostles often affirm that, *Acts ii. 24. and 32. Gal. i. 1. Eph. i. 19. 1 Cor. vi. 14. Heb. xiii. 20.* It depends also in some Manner upon the Holy Ghost, and both concur in this divine Operation. So the Apostle to the Romans teaches us, Chap. viii. 11. *But if the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the Dead dwell in you, he that raised up Christ from the Dead shall also quicken your mortal Bodies, by his Spirit that dwelleth in you.*

Nor do I at all wonder, that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, should, in some Manner, co-operate in the Resurrecti-  
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on of the Dead, since 'tis like a new Creation, when numberless Souls are all at once, from an invisible State, brought forth into Light, as it were, from nothing, and all of them reinvested with Bodies of their several Kinds; nay, the Souls themselves have, as it were, a Regeneration, or a *Palingenesia*, a new Life, and a new World, and all Things around them new: And therefore the Apostle does, with a mighty Emphasis of Words, set forth all the mighty Power of God, as employed and exerted in producing this wonderful Work, *Eph. i. 19.*

Hitherto we have set forth the Certainty or Stability of our Resurrection, and the efficient Causes of it from the sacred Writings: And all these are clearly reveal'd. Let us now proceed to Things that are less clearly and less expressly determin'd. And here the Question first offers itself which is proposed by the Apostle? *With what Sort of Bodies Men shall rise again? 1 Cor. xv. 35. How are the Dead raised up? or with what Body do they come?* That we may answer this Question, and discover the Qualities of that Body with which we are to be cloathed the Resurrection, we must observe, in the first Place, what Powers and what Qualities the sacred Writers attribute to such a Body. Upon this, allowing these, which

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upon

upon the Testimonies of the Scripture, we know belongs to those Bodies, we are to enquire farther what other more particular Qualities, by a just Reasoning, may be deduced from them, and which may more nearly and intimately discover the Nature and physical Constitution of those Bodies. Lastly, we must consult the Nature of Things, which must be call'd in to our Aid, when we are inquiring into corporeal Beings, that we impute nothing, through our Ignorance, to the sacred Oracles, that is incongruous or absurd.

But that we may act compendiously, that Question of the Apostle, *With what Bodies are we to arise?* seems chiefly to include two Things: First, *With what Body?* that is, whether with an organical Body, and a Body like that which at present we carry about us; or whether with a Body that is inorganical, and of another Form, and another Order from that which we have at present. But secondly, *with what Body?* that is, whether with a gross and closely compacted Body, such as we now have, or with a thin, a loose, and a light one, resembling Air or *Æther*. One of these doubtful Points, you see, respects the Form of our future Body, and the other the Matter; and if we can give a good Account of both these,



we shall, I presume, give a satisfactory Answer to the propounded Question.

Now 'tis from the sacred Writings that we must bring the Answer to both Parts of the Question; and not only from this Chapter of *St. Paul* to the *Corinthians*, but from every Passage where either Christ or his Apostles explain the Conditions of those Bodies which we shall enjoy in the Heavens. Of these Conditions, some are general and common, which can discover nothing certain or definitive in this Kind: Others are special and proper, which may be called Characters, or characteristical Tokens; to which, if we diligently attend, they will bring us to a Discovery of the Form or the Matter of the Bodies of the Beatified. We will, as the Nature of the Subject requires, divide these characteristical Tokens in two Orders; the former of which will answer the first Part of the Question, and the latter the second Part. The four following sacred characteristical Tokens seems to discover and give us a View of the Form of our immortal Body, whether it is to be organical or inorganical. First, It will have no Occasion for either Belly or Edibles; Secondly, Of Flesh and Blood it will not consist; Thirdly, It will be a Body not made with Hands, *akeiropoieton*; and thereby,  
Fourthly,

Fourthly, It will be, *ifangelon*, a Body by which we shall be like to the Angels. Each of these four Characters must be examin'd apart from the rest, that we may be able to discern what Validity each of them has, how much is implied in it, and how far it extends. As for the First, the Apostle speaks thus concerning it. *Meats are for the Belly, and the Belly for Meats; but God shall abolish both it and them.* But when will he abolish them? Not in this Life; therefore in the Life to come: Not in this mortal Body; therefore in the glorious and immortal Body. But if that Body will want a Belly, it will consequently want those Entrails, those Vessels, and all those Parts which are contained in the Cavity of that Belly: But all these being subtracted, what Sort of Body will remain? Why, a Body that is maim'd, and whose Parts are separated by empty Space; in short, a Body altogether imperfect, if we regard the Nature of an organical Body. And then the Parts which are under the Belly will either be wanting, or will be of no Use; of which we shall say more hereafter. Lastly, The Thighs, the Legs and Feet, are the necessary Instruments of walking, and walking is performed upon a Substance, that is itself immoveable. But since, in the  
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Air, or in the Heavens, there is no immoveable Substance to tread on, there is neither Pavement, nor Porch, nor Gallery; their Local Motion will be perform'd, not after the Manner of walking, but in the same Manner in which the Angels move. These lower Parts of the Body then will be all of them abolished, as useless and superfluous.

Besides, where there is no Food, there can be no Nutrition; but several Faculties, and several Organs were made on Purpose to be subservient to Nutrition, which must likewise be abolish'd, when our Food is: Such are the Organs of Taste, of Chewing and Swallowing; the Organs of Concoction, of Sanguification, and those of Distribution, and not a few of the Glands, are useful to Nutrition or Secretion. Now what Organick Body can bear the Loss of so many Parts! and yet the Body which we are to have must endure it all, if we have rightly calculated. These numerous Parts, then, being thus separated, or cut off from the Body, let us next consider what we are to determine concerning Flesh and Blood, whether they two are like to perish together with those which are mentioned before.

After the Apostle had treated of the Qualities of blessed Bodies, at the End of  
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that Discourse he adds; *But this I say unto you, Brethren, that Flesh and Blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God.* \* 1 Cor. xv.

50. The Apostle says absolutely *they cannot*. There is, it seems, some Repugnancy between the celestial State and the Conditions of Flesh and Blood; and therefore there is a Necessity that the Body, with which the Soul is invested in Heaven after the Resurrection, should be *anaimou kai asarkon*, without Flesh, and without Blood.

But you will say, perhaps, that Flesh and Blood, in this Expression of the Apostle, are not to be literally understood, but to be mystically, or allegorically, as they denote the Works of the Flesh, or moral Pravity and Impurity. To which I answer, First, That this is said without any Proof, but against the receiv'd Rule of Interpreting; by which we are forced to depart from the Letter, unless we are urg'd by Necessity from the Nature of the Thing, and of the Subject Matter; but here is no such Necessity: Besides, the rest of the characteristical Marks are so agreeable to this, and so nearly related to it, (as will clearly

\* In the Language of the Vulgar 'twas called the *Resurrection of the Flesh*, but wise Men understood it differently. See *Orig. p. 132. mod. ten kekerug.*

clearly appear by what is to follow,) that we are rather on the other Side urg'd by Necessity, a Necessity of retaining the literal Sense: For the Words that follow in the same Verse sufficiently shew, that *Flesh and Blood* are to be understood physically, and not morally; for that which follows, is, *Neither doth Corruption inherit Incorruption*, Corruption is there understood physically; and by *Phthoran* the Apostle designs that we should understand *Phtharton*, this our corruptible Body; and by Incorruption an incorruptible State.

But, perhaps, you will attempt to elude the Force of this Answer another Way; you will say, perhaps, that Flesh and Blood, such as we have at present, cannot inherit the Kingdom of Heaven; but that another Sort of Flesh and Blood, such as we are to have after the Resurrection, may inherit it. But to answer effectually to this, the Apostle no where at this rate distinguishes between two Kinds of Flesh and Blood, the corruptible Kind, and the incorruptible. He, indeed, mentions several Kinds of Flesh, as of Men, of Beasts, of Fish, and of Fowls, and all these are alike corruptible; but he no where makes mention of Flesh that is incorruptible; tho' a fair Occasion offers itself. He no where uses this Distinction among

several others, *Corruptible Flesh is one Thing, and Flesh incorruptible another Thing.* On the contrary, he seems to suppose, or to take it for granted, that all Flesh and Blood are corruptible, and consequently lays down an universal Proposition, without Limitation or Distinction, *Flesh and Blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God*, that is, a Body compos'd of Flesh and Blood; *Corruption*, in the latter Part of the Verse, answers exactly to *Flesh and Blood* in the former Part; and *Incorruption* in the latter Part, to the *Kingdom of God* in the former Part. They mingle Heaven and Earth together, who at this Rate, confound corruptible and incorruptible. *Incorruptible Blood* seem to me to be what Logicians call a *Contradiction in Adjecto*: For the Stamina of the Blood are of a very dissolvable Texture and Mixture; and when they are dissolved, Corruption or Putrifaction follows: And the same Thing may be said of Flesh, which is nothing but Blood and similar Juices coagulated. But we shall say more of this Matter anon, when we treat of the Blood and the glorious Body of Christ.

These Things, in the mean while, being thus discuss'd, it appears to me to be sufficiently evident, that the Saying of the Apostle, *That Flesh and Blood are incapable*

*ble of possessing the Kingdom of Heaven,* ought to be understood as it is pronounced, literally and universally; and that consequently our celestial and incorruptible Bodies will be void of Flesh and Blood, and likewise of all Organs and all Parts that are compos'd of Flesh and Blood: But if not only Blood is wanting, but the whole Frame and Structure of Flesh, nothing will remain but a senseless Skeleton, depriv'd of all the Ornament, the Beauty and the Majesty of a human organick Body.

Hitherto we have prov'd, from the sacred Writings, that the Bodies of Saints in Heaven are not organical, with Regard to their several Parts: Now let us consult other characteristical Marks that regard and comprehend the whole Body: As when our celestial Body is said by the Apostle to be *akeiropoieton*, and when in Regard to that Body, we are said to be *isangeloi*. As to the first the Apostle, in that Passage to the *Corinthians*, forms a Comparison, and, as it were, an Antithesis, between the Body which we have at present, and that which we shall have hereafter in the Heavens, The Question is, therefore, what is his Meaning? or how that Word *akeiropoieton*, is to be interpreted? If you render it verbatim, *not made with Hands*, from that Mark there

there will be no Antithesis between the Body which we are to have, and that which we have at present, for this latter is by no Means made with Hands, nor by any human Art; but has its Source from liquid Seed; and from a minute Drop, grows to a greater Mass, and to an admirable Frame, by a Force internal, and as it were divine without the Assistance of any Hand, or the Co-operation of any Art of Man. Secondly, if you render *akeiropoieton not artificial*, which seems to have a more extensive Signification, neither by this means will you preserve the Antithesis or the Distinction from our present Body, which is equally with the other, inartificial, it being natural both in its Rise and Increase: But yet, the Body which we have at present, in another Regard, has the Appearance of an artificial Body, or of a Body mechanically fram'd, that is, as far as it is composed of numerous Parts of various Matter, aptly and articulately joined together, and, as it were, conglutinated. This Way you constitute a mechanical or organical Fabrick, which may be said to be *keiropoieton, made with Hands*; and according to this Analogy, *akeiropoieton* and inorganical, have one and the same meaning; by which Interpretation the Antithesis is preserv'd between the

two



two Kinds of Bodies, that which we have at present, and the celestial; and we conclude, that the Bodies of the Blessed in Heaven are Bodies inorganical.

But tho' in this Passage of the Apostle, the foresaid Antithesis is not both Ways express'd, yet in another Place both Parts of the Opposition or the Comparison are express'd: As in the Saying of Christ in St. Mark Chap. xiv. 58. *naos keiropoietos, the Temple made with Hands*, is opposed to *akeiropoieto, the Temple not made with Hands*; and Christ by both, means his own Body, and calls that which he had when he was here upon Earth, *keiropoieton, made with Hands*, and the other *akeiropoieton, not made with Hands*; in which Comparison, the foresaid Antithesis can hardly be explained any other Way than we have explained it above. And the Apostle, in his Epistle to the *Hebrews*, Chap. ix. confirms this Explication, where he dwells upon his Similitude of the Tabernacle, to which he tacitly here alludes. And as Christ names the Temple, the Apostle calls the Tabernacle, or the Sanctuary, *keiropoieton*, (Ver. 24.) to which our terrestrial Body answers. Then he calls the celestial Body of Christ *ou keiropoieton*. (Ver. 11.) and adds by Way of Exposition, *toutestin*,

*ou toutes les ktiseos*, that is to say, *not of this Building*, or this Structure, but of a different Form from this terrestrial and organick Body. But concerning this Word, and this Character, we have spoke sufficiently.

The last Character is taken from the Likeness of the Blessed in Heaven with the Angels. Christ says to the *Sadduces*, *That \* the Sons of the Resurrection shall be isangelous; like to the Angels*; which, at first View, seem only to regard Marriages and Copulations, yet not to the Exclusion of other Things: So far from it, that Christ seems rather to have taken that Occasion to deliver a more general Sentence; by which the Equality of the Sons of the Resurrection with the Angels, both may and ought to be further extended: And it is actually further extended by *St. Luke*, who after this Manner delivers his Saying of Christ:  
*But.*

\* The Sons of the Resurrection are the Sons of God, says Christ, *Luke xx. 36.* בְּנֵי צְלִיָּהִים, as the Angels are called. I am not ignorant that the Expression, *Sons of God*, is, in some Sense, to be applied to the Saints in this Life, namely, as they have received the Spirit of Adoption, and the certain Hope of a future Inheritance and Glory: But when it is spoken of a future Life, it seems to denote the Angelical State, according to this Saying of Christ here, and in other Places, *Matt. v. 9. John i. 12.*

But they which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that World, and the Resurrection from the Dead, neither marry, nor are given in Marriage; neither can they die any more, for they are equal to the Angels, Luke xx, 35, 36. From these Words it appears to me to be evident, first, that the Angels have Bodies; then, that we shall have such Bodies as the Angels have, that is, inorganic Bodies. \* As to the first, if that Equality upon which the Blessed shall be with the Angels, consists only in the spiritual Part of each of them, and not in their Bodies; then, our Bodies may be mortal after the Resurrection, notwithstanding this Equality. But we are told by Christ, that by Reason of this Equality we can die no more:

\* This St. *Austin* openly asserted: *Our Bodies*, says he, after the Resurrection, shall be such as are the Bodies of Angels, upon *Psal. lxxxv.* at the Words, *Thou hast deliver'd my Soul from the lowermost Hell.* And upon *Psal. cxlv.* not far from the Beginning, he calls our heavenly Body *Corpus Angelicum*, an angelical Body. *Tertullian's* Phrase is, *Caro Angelificata*, Angeliz'd Flesh, de *Resurr. Carn.* c. 26. And again, he calls it, *Demutatio in Substantiam Angelicam*, a Change into an angelical Substance, *Lib. iii. contra Marc. c. ult.* *Lactantius* calls it, *Transformatio in Similitudinem Angelorum*, a Transformation into the Likeness of Angels, *Lib. vii. c. 26.* You may consult, at your Leisure, more Places of *Austin* that speak the same Sense, as *Epist. iii. ad Fortunat. Gen. ad Lit. l. xii. c. 35.* and again, *l. ii. c. 17.* and *l. iii. c. 10.* of the Bodies of fallen Angels, and those that are not fallen; and others of the like Nature.

more: This Equality then, must regard the Bodies of each, or the corporeal Part of them; for we die, or are mortal, only with Respect to the Body, whether in this Life or the Life to come. Besides the Immortality, or Equality with the Angels, concerning which Christ instructs us, are Privileges that accrue to us by and after the Resurrection; but the Soul has been always immortal, from its Creation, and that Immortality that comes to us by and after the Resurrection, is the Immortality of the Body. 'Tis in this Respect, that we are equal to the Angels; for, in short, we should be like to the Angels rather before than after the Resurrection, if the Angels had not Bodies. \*

Besides that, the Angels are not naked spiritual Substances, but cloathed with Bodies of their own Kind and Order, seems to be demonstrable to me from this, that they are to constitute the Attendance, and the Guard of Christ, upon the glorious Day of his coming. They must of Necessity then, be visible, and cloathed with Bodies, and those of a more noble Order, that they may augment and accomplish the Majesty and

\* Of this Matter see *Huet. Orig.* l. ii. q. 5. Sect. 8, 9. p. 71.

and the Magnificence of that celestial Pomp: Nor will you, I believe, presume to say, that they will have Bodies at that Time, but Bodies which they will borrow, composed of Air for that Occasion only; Bodies to be thrown off, and again dispers'd when the Pomp of the Spectacle is over: I believe you will hardly suffer this to be said, that Christ, will return with innumerable Attendance, but an Attendance of Phantoms only, with a thousand thousand transitory and fugitive Shadows, and idle empty Visions, and that such Angels as these in Masquerade, surround the Throne of God. Besides, when in the sacred Writings 'tis said, that Satan sometimes transforms himself to an *Angel of Light*, that Metamorphosis supposes, that an Angel of Light as some outward Form, and some visible Species by which he is known and distinguished from the others. But that, be it what it will, he cannot possibly have unless he has a Body. And as for the Evil Angels in general, when they are capable of Pain and Torment by Means of corporeal Fire, and are destin'd to suffer it, 'tis evident from this, that those degenerate Spirits have their Bodies, whatever those Bodies are. Besides, on the other Side, 'tis impossible there can be any Society, any Commerce, between

the good and the holy Angels, and Saints, and beatified Spirits, unless both the one and the other are in some Manner visible and incorporated.

Lastly, Give me leave to ask one Question; Can any one of a sound Understanding, and who has a just Estimation of the Works of God? can such a one, upon considering the Thing seriously, believe sincerely, and from his Soul, that the celestial and ætherial Regions, vast as they are, and almost boundless, can be without any visible intelligent Creature, without any Animal indued with Reason, except a few human Souls? What Wilds, what Solitudes, what, next to infinite Deserts, must such a one suppose that there are in the Nature of Things, which Space, the good and the great God, wanted neither Power nor Goodness to replenish with proper Inhabitants? But if you are of Opinion with us, that Angels have Bodies proper to their Kind and Order, not, indeed, organical Bodies, (for what have Angels to do with Bones, with Joints, with Bowels, with Stomach, and with the Frame and Fabrick of Members?) but lucid and ætherial ones, such as several of the Fathers were of Opinion that they had, as we have observed in another Place? and if you grant that ours  
will

will be like to these Angelick Bodies \*; from this Hypothesis Honour will redound to God the Creator of the Universe, to Heaven its Ornaments, its Majesty, and Magnificence, and Armies of illustrious Inhabitants, to us a Society and eternal Commerce with Angels, and an Equality, and Resemblance, and Relation to them, both by glorious Endowments of Body and Mind, and by blisful Immortality.

Hitherto we have answer'd the first Part of the Question, propounded by the Apostle, which regards the Form of our immortal Bodies: Let us now proceed to the second Part, which comprehends the Matter of them, and the Qualities of that Matter. Here, therefore, the Enquiry is to be, What kind of Body we shall enjoy in the Heavens, whether a thick or solid one, like that which we carry about us at present; or a thin, a light, a refulgent, and a transparent one, like Light, or Æther or Matter a-kin to the Heavens. In examining this Part of the Question, let us proceed in the same Method that we used in the first Part,

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\* But Angels usually appear cloathed in bright Bodies. See Places in *Gerrard. Tom. 9. p. 659.* about the Middle. And St. *Jude* says of them, that they left *toidiou oikegeriou, their proper Habitation,* (Ver. 6.) may denote either their Bodies, or their corporeal Places.

by those sacred Characters, or Tokens that are founded in the sacred Writings. But the Body of the Blessed in Heaven, is called by *St. Paul*, celestial, spiritual, potent, glorious, and conformable to the glorious Body of Christ. When it is called celestial, that denotes the Matter of which it is composed: For as the Body which we have at present consists of terrestrial Matter; so the Body, which is called celestial, will consist of celestial Matter; or, as the Body of *Adam* was framed of Dust, or of terrestrial Clay; so, on the contrary, the Bodies of the Sons of God will be formed of celestial Matter, or Matter modify'd like it. *O protos anthropos ek Ges Choikos, &c.* The first Man is of the Earth, earthy: The second Man is the Lord from Heaven: As is the earthy, so are they also who are earthy; and as is the Heavenly, such are they also that are heavenly: And as we have borne the Image of the Earthy, we shall also bear the Image of the Heavenly. *1 Cor. xv. 47, 48, &c. 2 Cor. v. 1, 2.* With Respect to the Body in this Life, we are made like to Christ. But if our celestial Body is to have the same Qualities or Modifications with the celestial Matter, then this Enquiry only remains, *viz.* What is the Nature of celestial Matter, or after what Manner is it

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modified? To which I answer, That 'tis not hard, nor solid, like Glass or Christial, or Ice, as some of the Ancients dreamt, but that 'tis as pure and thin, as the finest Air or Æther: And, consequently, our celestial Bodies will be of the same Nature.

Secondly, Our celestial Body is called, by the Apostle, a *spiritual Body*; to *pneumatikou* or *pneuma*, either signifies something void of all Matter, in which Signification it can be meant of no Body whatever, or it signifies some light and thin Body, like Wind, or Air, or Vapour; in which Sense likewise  $\pi\nu\mu$  is used by the *Hebrews*, and *Spiritus Spirit*, by the *Latins*, as when the thinner Parts or Particles of our Blood are called *Spirits*, whether they are animal or vital. Nor does that Word seem to me to be taken otherwise, when our celestial Body is called a *Spiritual Body*, provided you add this as by Consequence, that the Heavenly one will be more vivacious than this mortal Body, and that Man, who will be then made to an enlivening Spirit, *eis pneumea Zoopoioun*, will have the Power of preserving his own Body without Meat, or Drink, or Sleep, or those other Things which the animal Body of *Adam*, *soma psuchikon*, wanted for its Support.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, The celestial Body is called *potent* and *active*: *Speiretai en astheneia, the Carcass is sown in Weakness, and it is raised in Power.* The Power of the Body consists in Motion, or in the Power it has to move itself and other Things; that which moves itself from Place to Place easily and swiftly, is called *active*; and if besides it has the Force of moving other Bodies, it is on that Account thought the more powerful. But it is here to be observed, that a Body whose Parts are quiet, and adhere one to the other, hath no Power of its own of moving itself; for Motion among Bodies is produced only by Motion, or by a Body moved. There is, therefore, a Necessity that a Body to be active must have its Parts in Motion, as 'tis in Air, Wind, Flame, and Light. Indeed, hard and coherent Bodies, which suffer themselves to be bent, and are called *elastick*, resist, and recover their former Situation, and that with a great deal of Force; But then the Power of moving does not proceed from the hard Body, but from some other subtle Matter in Motion, inclosed in the hard Body. Besides, in Machines which are composed partly of Matter which is hard and firm, and partly of that which is fluid or volatile, the Solid may be moved by the spirituous  
 Parts,

Parts, and the whole Compound be mov'd together, or any particular Part of it, as may be in the Motion of our own Bodies, or of any particular Member of them. But if within the hard Bodies there is no Matter in Motion, nor moveable Matter, neither its own nor foreign, it remains motionless in itself, and can never be moved, unless by external Force.

Now if these Things are rightly affirm'd, and determin'd by us, it follows, that the Body which we are to have in the Heavens may be active and lively, it must not consist of a sluggish and spiritless Matter, as is the Matter of concrete Bodies, or Bodies whose Parts are coherent to one another, but of a Substance light, and vivid, and volatile; that so, in Obedience to the Command of the Mind, it may be easily carried to any Part, may pass through other Bodies, and may, at its own Pleasure, rarify or condense itself: In fine, the united Force of the Parts or Particles of which such a Body consists, must be exceeding powerful; and if they are all directed the same Way, and to the same Object, they will penetrate or throw down every Thing that stands in their Way, like a Storm, or the Lightning of Thunder.

And here give me Leave to add, that we ought not to wonder that it should be in  
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the Power of the Soul to guide and direct the Parts of this spirituous Body which Way soever it pleases; when even in this gross and heavy and terrestrial Body, it sends forth the Spirits and the thinner Juices every Way into the Nerves and Muscles, according to the absolute Pleasure and Command of its own Will: And when all this spirituous Body is nothing but a Frame of congregated Spirits, and of the noblest Matter, 'tis but highly reasonable that we should grant to a glorified Soul a plenary Power over such a Body; a Power of impelling, retaining, or guiding and directing its Parts which Way soever it pleases.

The fourth Character follows, by which the Bodies of the Blessed are styl'd *glorious*. That Word denotes something more excellent than Beauty only, or than Proportion of Parts, *viz.* a certain Light or Refulgency; nor can Matter or Body, be it ever so beautiful, appear glorious, unless 'tis illustrated with Light and Radiancy. Besides, the Word *doxa*, *Glory*, wherever in the sacred Writings 'tis spoke, either of natural Bodies, or of divine or angelick Appearances, almost always denotes something resplendent and illustrious, as will immediately more fully appear: In the mean while, you see that in this very

Chapter

Chapter Mention is made of the Glory of the Stars, which consists in Light, and that in order to explain the Glory of our celestial Bodies. Lastly, The Prophet *Daniel* discoursing of the Condition of the Righteous after the Resurrection, to lay it before us, has Recourse to the same Example of Stars, but applies that Example more strongly; *Many of those, says he, that now sleep in the Dust of the Earth will awake; some of them to Life eternal, and others to eternal Contempt and Reproach: And the Wise shall shine like the Splendor of the Firmament; and they that instruct many to Righteousness, like Stars to Millions of Ages.* Christ marked the same State, the same Time, and the same Glory, when he said, *Then shall the Righteous shine forth as the Sun in the Kingdom of their Father. Matt. xiii. 43.* It is evident, that the same Glory is described by the Prophet, by Christ, and by the Apostle, and that that Glory is a Participation of Light and Splendor.

But the Question may here be ask'd, Whether this Light and this Splendor are inherent in glorified Bodies? or whether they come from Abroad, and are only reflected or transmitted, as in Gems or polish'd Metals, or in other solid Bodies? And yet, methinks, this too might be deter-

min'd by the Examples brought from the Sun and the Stars. However, we shall examine this farther in the following Character, by which our celestial Body is said to be form'd after the manner of the glorious Body of Christ. In the mean while, this remains fix'd and establish'd, that the Bodies of the Blessed in Heaven are, in some Measure, lucid and refulgent, and by Consequence glorious.

And now comes the last and the most illustrious Character, *of the Formation of our celestial Bodies after the glorious Body of Christ.* This Character confirms the former, and besides, discovers to us, that the Light which those glorious Bodies emit, is inherent in them, and dwell in them, and proceeds from an internal Principle, as from an exhaustless Fountain: For Christ, when he was on the Earth, in his Transfiguration, renders himself all Brightness, not by reflecting a borrowed Light, but from himself he emitted that Virtue which caused him to overflow with Glory, and to be immers'd in a Deluge of Light: *His Face did shine as the Sun, and his Raiment was white as the Light:* So says the Evangelist. *Matt. xvii. 2.* Then after his Resurrection he appeared in several Shapes, *Mark xvi. 2. Luke xxiv. 16. John xx. 15,*  
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and xxi. 5. render'd himself visible or invisible according to his Pleasure, *Luke xxiv. 31.* and twice enter'd the Houses where his Disciples were, though the Doors were shut, *Job xx. 19, 26.* and yet he appeared with Bones and with Flesh to his doubting Disciples, that he might convince them of the Truth of his Resurrection.\* And thus he shewed by these several Tokens, that it

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was

\* *Clem. Alexand. Strom. p. 649. ephagen gar ou dia to soma, &c.* For he eat not for the Sake of his Body, which was sustained by divine Virtue, but lest those he appeared to should entertain false Notions of him, as we find afterwards that some actually did, supposing him to have been no more than a Ghost or Apparition.—*Origen apud Hieron in Proem ad l. xviii. in Isa.* He eat after his Resurrection, and drank, appeared cloathed, and offer'd himself to be felt, to convince his doubting Disciples of the Reality of his Resurrection; but yet he plainly discovers the Nature of his aërial and spiritual Body, by entering into the Room while the Doors were shut, and by his vanishing out of Sight at the breaking of Bread.

*Damascene* likewise says, that he did this *ou nomo phuseos, &c.* not by the Law of his Nature but by Way of Proof of the Truth of his Resurrection, *De Orthod. Fid. l. iv. c. 1.*

There are besides quoted, as of the same Opinion, *Theophil. in cap. xxiv. Luc. and Bede in cap. xx. Joban. in Gerard. tom. 9. p. 672. Med. Chrysof. Hom. 87. Cod. Gr. in Job. azion de diaporesai, pos.* but it may be doubted how an incorruptible Body could receive the Impressions of the Nails, and be touched by mortal Hands: But let not this shock thee; for this was by Permission only, (*sungkatabasios*) by Way of Condescension: For a Body so thin and fine as to come in when the Doors were shut, must be void of all gross Substance: But he shewed himself in that Manner

was in his Power to resolve his Body into the thin and the volatile, and to reduce it at his Pleasure into a Body solid, and of adherent Parts.

Lastly, When he ascended into Heaven, with the Swiftness of a winged Angel, mounting to his native Seat, what was his Body? what was his Vehicle? It was light and rapid, as the fiery Chariot in which *Elias* was formerly carried, when he ascended alive into Heaven. In like Manner, when Christ was seen by St. *John* in the Isle of *Patmos*, *his Eyes were as a Flame of Fire, and his Feet like to fine Brass, as if they burned in a Furnace; Rev. i. 14, 15.* As the Son of Man was seen by the Prophet *Daniel* before. *Dan. x. 5, 6.* And lastly, he is at length to return in the same glorious, refulgent, flaming Form; otherwise he would hardly be visible both Night and Day aloft in the sublime Sky, to those who

for the Proof of the Resurrection. St. *August. de Civ. Dei*, l. xxii. c. 19. We must believe, that the Brightness of the Body of Christ at his Resurrection, was rather hid from the Eyes of the Disciples, than really wanting in itself: For the weak Sight of Man could not have been able to have beheld so glorious a Form with that Stedfastness as was necessary for him to be known by. *He would not be touched (John xx. 17.) because he was not in a tangible State, being then returned from the Dead, and upon his Ascension to the Father.*



who inhabit the Earth: Nay, even the Glory of the Father, or the *Ancient of Days*, is described by the same Prophet, with a luminous and flaming Majesty. *Dan. vii. 9, 10.*

And to come to a Conclusion of this Point, I only desire to add, that the Glory of God, which is called by the *Hebrews Shechinah*, and which is the majestic Presence of God, has always the Appearance of Light, or Flame, or of a resplendent Cloud; as in the journeying out of *Egypt*, and in the Holy of Holies; and the same Thing which is called the *Glory of God*, is termed likewise a Cloud, or a lucid Cloud, *Num. xii. 5. and xvi. 19, 42. Matt. xvii. 5, and 2 Pet. i. 17.* and in many other Places in both Testaments, it appears, that the Glory of God, or his glorious Presence, is always shewn in some lucid, flaming; or fiery Matter; but the Body of Christ was the most excellent Residing Place of this *Shechinah*, of this divine Glory, and, as it were, the *Sanctum Sanctorum* in which it shone out most brightly; to which also, the sacred Authors are often wont to allude, *John i. 14. Heb. ix. ii. Rev. xxi. 3.* These Things being thus explain'd, it seems to be determin'd, that the glorious Body of Christ which he has in  
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the Heavens, is like Flames, like Æther, or like liquid Light, and that consequently, our celestial Body will be of no dissimilar Matter, since 'tis to be conformable to his. And indeed, if we consult Reason and Philosophy, \* any other Kind of Matter can scarce subsist or sustain itself in the Heavens, and the ætherial Regions, were all Things are serene and pure, every Thing most fine and subtile. Lastly, Since in the Rank and Order of Bodies, or in material Nature, we know nothing more excellent than Light or Flame, 'tis but just that we determine, that the glorious Body of Christ, and ours in Proportion, must consist of these 'till we find something that is more excellent and surpassing.

Perhaps, it may be here objected, that thus to explain the Glory of the Body of Christ in the Heavens would be foreign neither to Reason, nor the sacred Writings, if it were not an Obstacle to the receiv'd Doctrine of the Flesh and Blood of Christ that are still remaining in his celestial Body: To which I answer, that the Father either had different Sentiments, or remain'd doubtful concerning this Point of the Flesh and Blood of the celestial Body of Christ: 'Tis  
 very

\* See *Origem.* cont. Cels. l. iii. m. p. 136.

'Tis very well known that all the Disciples of *Origen* deny it, and philosophize quite after another Manner. Besides, with the Fathers of the second *Nicene* Synod, among the Definitions and the Heads of the \* *Constantinopolitan* Council, (which is called the *Council of the Iconoclastes*, or the *Image-Breakers*) which, upon hearing them read over again, they approved of † this was one: *That Christ was set down at the right Hand of his Father, and that he would at length either return, ouk eti men sarka, ouk asomaton de; but that he would not return in the Flesh, and yet not without a Body, that is, a subtle rarified Body: For it follows; that he may be seen by those who pierced him, and may remain God without the Grossness of the Flesh.* Can any Thing be

\* *Ei tis ouk omogloei ton Kurion.* Whoever does not confess that our Lord Jesus Christ, after his assuming the rational Nature and intellectual Flesh, is set down with God the Father, and that he will so likewise return, with paternal Majesty, to judge the Quick and the Dead, not indeed with Flesh, but neither incorporeal; so that he may be seen of those by whom he was pierc'd; and that he remains God without the Grossness of Flesh, let him be accursed.

† *Mekri touton eugnomonoufi.* So far they think right, and speak agreeably to the Traditions of the Fathers; or rather, by asserting these Doctrines as their own, they do themselves Credit and Honour. *L' Abbé Conc. Nic. 2. Act. 6. tom. 6. p. 541.*

be more plain than this? For it must be observed, that these Words, *ouk eti men sarka, ouk asomaton de*, which chiefly regard the Point of which we are treating, are the very Words of *Gregory Nazianzen*, speaking of the same Matter, *viz.* in his fortieth Oration, towards the End, he says this concerning Christ: *kai anastanta trimeron aneলেখলুথেনাই, &c.* That the third Day he return'd to Life, and ascended into Heaven; from whence he will return illustrious and glorious, to judge the Quick and the Dead; *ouk eti men sarka, ouk asomaton de, viz.* no longer incarnated, and yet not wanting a Body, but having a Body more august and more divine; and such a Body as none but the Son of God can have; that he might both be seen by those who pierc'd him, and might remain a God without any corporeal Mass, or any carnal Grossness.

In vain the popish Doctors labour to wrest these Words, *ouk eti sarka*, to a metaphorical or figurative Sense, *viz.* to signify not the Substance of Flesh, but its Affections and Infirmities; but the Words which follow as well in the said Councils as in *Gregory Nazianzen*; which in the Councils are, *That he may remain a God without the Grossness of the Flesh*; and in the Father, *That God may remain without*  
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any corporeal Mass, without any fleshly Grossness: These Words, I say, plainly discover, that the Word *sarka*, *Flesh*, is here taken physically, and according to its specific Nature, as 'tis opposed to a thin and liquid Matter; and 'tis in this Sense, as you may plainly see, that Flesh is denied to be in the Body of Christ, by the Votes and Consents of these two celebrated Councils.

Lastly, I said, that some of the Fathers were doubtful as to this Point, which is usually known by the Answer of St. *Austin* to *Consentius*, who had proposed this Question to him, *Whether now the Body of Christ has Bones and Blood, and the other Lineaments of Flesh in it.* To which Question, after that St. *Austin*, has given a general and partial Answer, he adds, *Let not Faith be wanting, and no Doubt will remain, unless we ought to enquire concerning the Blood of Christ; because when he said, feel and see, for a Spirit has not Flesh and Bones, he did not add Blood.* Let not us, therefore, add to our Inquiry what he did not add to his Answer; and, if you please, let the Question have the compendious End, or else, perhaps, some more troublesome Enquirer, taking Occasion from this Mention of Blood, may press us further, and ask if Blood, why not Phlegm, why not yellow and black Choler?

*of which four Humours the Physicians agree, that the Nature of Flesh is compos'd: But whatever any one adds, let him beware of adding Corruption, that he may preserve the Soundness and Chastity of his Faith.*

Here, you see, St. *Austin* remains cautious and doubtful, and *Consentius* docile, but yet doubtful. Some, indeed, talk more boldly and grossly concerning the glorious Body of Christ. This I deny not, but some Things, at present, being balanced against others, let us proceed, if you please on one Subject: For whatever has been determined, either by Councils or Fathers, it must yield to Reason and Scripture.

Secondly then, I say, or rather repeat from what was said before, that *Flesh and Blood cannot*, according to the Apostle, *inherit the Kingdom of Heaven*. These Words, if they are literally taken, and in their proper Signification, there is an End of the present Dispute, by the Assertion of our Lord himself: But that they ought to be received so in this Place, according to the received Laws of interpreting, if I am not mistaken, has been above sufficiently demonstrated.

Thirdly, 'Tis repugnant both to Reason and the Nature of Things, that *Flesh and Blood can be incorruptible*: As the Body of Christ

Christ is now, so will our Body be hereafter in the Heavens: But you will, perhaps, answer, that Flesh and Blood, indeed, are not incorruptible in their own Nature, but that they may be rendered incorruptible, their specifick Nature being preserv'd and remaining. This is what I deny; yes, in in this Part we dissent: And lest Deceit should lie lurking in generals, let us, if you please, open the Matter succinctly, that the State of the Question may appear the more manifestly. Every kind of Body has its Proprieties; of which, some are accidental and mutable, others are essential and unchangable, which being destroyed or alter'd, that Portion of Matter will cease to be a Body of the same Kind and Nature which it was of before, but passes into another Class or Order of Bodies. For Example: When the Herbs which we eat are converted into Flesh and Blood, they are no longer Herbs, though the same Matter remains, but Flesh and Blood, Bodies of quite another Kind and another Nature. On the other Side, when Flesh and Blood, are in their Turns, converted into Herbs and Grass, which often happens when the Ground grows fat by the Blood of slaughtered Bodies, thus alter'd they cease to be Flesh and Blood. When Christ, in the Marriage

of *Cana*, converted Water into Wine, the same Matter remained, but differently modified; and by Reason of those new Modifications, lost both the Name and Nature of Water.

Tell me then plainly, and leave the Sophister behind you, what Alteration do you require should be made in the Parts or Particles of Flesh and Blood, that from a corruptible Matter they may become incorruptible, and yet preserve the Nature of Flesh and Blood? Or, if you had rather, answer this Question: What are the Properties, what are the Conditions of Flesh and Blood, which you affirm to be essential to both, and from both inseparable? Yes, what are the Properties and the Conditions, which being preserved, Flesh and Blood remain? and which being destroyed, Flesh and Blood must either perish with them, or must pass into another Class of Bodies? If you answer, that that is unknown to you, when you confess, that you know not whether that can be done, which yet you affirm is done, which seems to be the Part of a rash and headstrong Man: Yet still let us try if, by some other Expedient, we can bring latent Truth to the Light. Tell, me then, what are the Principles, what are the Stamina of which Blood is compos'd?

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You know what are the Principles of Blood, which all receive and acknowledge, *viz.* Sulphur, Spirit, Earth, and Water. But 'tis equal to me whether you take these or other, provided they are known, determin'd, and terrestrial. In the mean Time, these Things being thus laid down, I ask you, Is it your Opinion these Parts, and these Principles will remain in your celestial Blood? Do you believe that the Body of Christ in Heaven is compos'd of Salt, Sulphur, Water, and Earth? Unless your celestial Blood retains these Stamina, these Fundamental Principles, it will be no longer Blood, unless equivocally and catechetically, because it will not have the Substance of Blood, and if it retain these, it will not be a Body celestial and incorruptible.

For here we are to observe, that this Matter, this Substance of the Blood being thus laid down, the Form of it is to be compos'd of the due Mixture of these Parts and Principles: But now imagine what Mixture or Texture you please, it will be dissolvable; nay, it will be actually dissolv'd and dissipated by the celestial Matter surrounding it, and intermix'd with it, like Wood or Straw in our terrestrial Fire. 'Tis true, indeed, by Means of Power divine, it may be preserv'd incorrupt, as  
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may the Blood that we now have, or as the young Men formerly were in the *Babylonian* Furnace; but still it will be in its own Nature corruptible, provided 'tis compos'd of the same Elements, however mix'd of which our Blood is constituted: And what we have said of *Blood* will hold good in Proportion of *Flesh* likewise; so that there will be no Occasion for going over the Argument again, to shew the same of this latter. It will be sufficient to observe, that if Softness and Humidity remain, Corruptibility will likewise remain; but if it becomes hard and dry, it will then take the Nature of a Stone, or of a Glass; or at least, it will resemble Mummy dried and hardened in the burning Sands of *Arabia* or *Egypt*. But it will be needless to dwell any longer on Things which are as repugnant to Reason, as they are to Faith.

In the mean Time, the summary and Conclusion of what has been said upon this Subject is this, That the glorious Body of Christ in the Heavens does not consist of any jointed Frame of Bones, of Flesh, and of Blood, or of any of the Humours or Entrails of this present terrestrial Body; but that 'tis of a more excellent Matter, of a higher Nature, and Purity, and Perfection: That I may say all in a Word, it consists  
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of Matter intirely celestial, with respect both to its Substance and Accidents. Lastly, The external and visible Glory of this celestial Body, will consist properly in this, That it will be refulgent, and by its own Rays illustrious; I say, *by its own Rays*, and not by any borrowed Light, either transmitted or reflected, but living and innate like a Source of living Water. And of this refulgent Glory Christ gave a Specimen from Heaven, when he spoke to *Saul*, and did, by the flashing of his Rays, as it were by Lightning, throw him prostrate on the Ground, blinded, and amaz'd, and confounded, *Acts ix. 3. periestrapsen auton*, says the Apostle, *phos apo tou ouranou, Kai peson epi ten gen, &c.* the glorious Body of Christ pour'd out and diffus'd its Light, a Light more bright and more powerful than the meridian Rays of the Sun. Compare *Acts ix. 17, 27*, with *Acts xxii. 6. and xxvi. 13.*

This seems to me to be the proper Habit and State of the glorious Body of Christ; yet, notwithstanding all this, we are willing to allow that it is, and always was in the Power of Christ to change his whole Body, or any Part of his Body, into whatever Form or whatever Temperament he pleased. When he was here upon Earth he walk'd  
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upon the Sea, and it gave no Way to his light Body. He was forty Days without Meat and without Drink, and had Power to render his Body impassive. He rendered it, likewise, thin, thick, heavy, light, dark, lucid, visible, or invisible, according to his sovereign Pleasure: Much more has he now Power over his own Body in the Heavens, and can convert the Substance of it, that is obedient to his Commands, into Blood or any other Juice, into Flesh or any other Concretion, according to his divine Will; and, therefore, the Dispute is not concerning that Point, nor concerning the Power of Christ, either over the external Elements or over his own Body, but concerning his proper State and his Form, that is said to be glorious and celestial: That, I say, is neither bony, nor fleshy, nor sanguinary, but a Mass of liquid Light, and of Air that glitters with its Radiancy, like the brightest Stars of Heaven; as is most agreeable to his divine Dignity, and those ætherial Regions where he chiefly resides.

Thus have I treated with all the Brevity, and all the Perspicuity, that I possibly could, of the Matter and Form of the Body of Christ in Heaven, and also of our own Bodies, which are to be made like unto his; by his divine Power and Influence. We  
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We have found upon Examination, that each of these is inorganical and inconcrete: And tho' this Examination has been founded upon Characters and Tokens drawn from the sacred Writings and adjusted to the Nature of Things, yet are we so accustomed to gross Bodies, constituted of Flesh and Bones, and a Frame of solid Members, that we are scarce able to conceive any other Kind of animated Bodies, or to give our Assent to any Proofs whatever of them. But whoever is either moderately conversant in the Writings of the antient Philosophers, or has read what the Christian Fathers philosophically write concerning Angels and Dæmons, will, without Difficulty, get free from that Prejudice. Therefore I will presume to advise them, that they would first diligently enquire, whether Angels have Bodies? and if they have, what Sort of Bodies theirs are? As for the First, you have the Suffrage and Consent of the antient Fathers, and of the *Grecians* especially, to that Opinion, that the Angels have Bodies, as we have shewn in another Place. Then what the Bodies of the Angels are, you will learn from the same *Grecian* Fathers; and in several Places of St. *Austin*, among the *Latins*, as in the *Treatise de Gen. ad Lit.* in his Epistles, in the

*Treatise de Civitate Dei*, and in several other Places. You will find that they all teach us, that those Bodies are thin as the Air, or the pure Æther; but that the good Angels have the purer, and the grosser the evil ones. This Doctrine of the Fathers being received, and their, as it were, secondary Authority, (for the primary one is that of the sacred Scripture, and of Reason that bears Witness to it,) that vulgar Prejudice will disappear and vanish, that there is one only Kind of animated Bodies, *viz.* the organical, and that which consists of concrete Matter, of Flesh, and of nervous Members, like our terrestrial Bodies: But there is another Genus of Bodies, of a celestial Kind and Order, such as the Bodies of Angels are, or such as ours will be, when we shall be like to the Angels. The gross, heavy, sluggish Bodies, such as we have at present, are in the lowest Class of Bodies, which immortal Minds, and rational Natures inhabit. And those which consist of a light, subtle, and moveable Matter, are a much nobler Sort of animated Bodies, and are readier for Motion or for Dispatch in all the Actions, either of the Mind or the Body. Nay, even in this terrestrial Body, the thin, the subtle, and the fluid Part, which we call Spirits, is the  
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proper Vehicle of the Soul, as the most nearly allied to it. These it commands, and these are the Instruments which it makes use of to move the Members of the Body; And the Affections and Operations of the Mind, depend upon the Subtilty, or the Grossness, the Plenty or the Want, the regular or irregular Motion of the Spirits, and are accordingly more or less powerful and vigorous. This System then and Collection of Spirits, and of thin and spiritous Matter, is the Seat of the Soul, and its primary and intimate Body; and this Covering of Skin and Flesh which we wear, is only used as a Shell or a Casket for the surer Preservation of it. Away then with that vulgar ridiculous Dotage, repugnant both to Philosophy, and to Theology, *viz.* that without the Trunk of a Body, and the Entrails which belong to it, no Body can be a fit Habitation for Souls, or for any spiritual Nature. *A Spirit*, says Christ, *has not Flesh and Bones*. He does not say that a Spirit is *asomaton*, *without a Body*, but that it has not a Body of Flesh and Bones. As, above, it was said of Christ himself by the Fathers, *ouk eti sarka, ouk asomaton de*, *that he was in the Heavens without Flesh, but not without a Body*. Certainly, if a Spirit had been without any

kind of Body, it had been more ready for Christ to have said, and had been as much to the Purpose, *A Spirit has not a Body as you see that I have.* Yet this he did not say, but *a Spirit has not Flesh and Bones,* that is, a Spirit has not a gross, visible and palpable Body, such as mine appears to be, both to your Sight and Touch. \*

Hitherto we have explain'd, according to the utmost of our Powers, the Points which are of greatest Moment in the Doctrine of the Resurrection. There are others remaining, and though not of the same Weight, yet worthy of our Consideration and

\* Lastly, The Philosophers in defining that Body, which they say good Men will have in a future State, or in Heaven, make use of the very same Words, and Epithets and Phrases, as the Apostle does in describing our future celestial Body. *Paul* calls this Body we are to have, a celestial or eternal one in the Heavens: They likewise term it *ouranion* and *aitherion*; and in like Manner oppose it to a terrestrial one, *St. Paul* calls immortal and incorruptible; the Philosophers use Words of the same Signification, *athanon, aptharton, ambron, aidion.* The Apostle compares it to the Stars; they call it *asteron eides.* He styles it a lucid and glorious Body; they *augoeidos.* In short, both describe it by the same common Epithet of *soma pneumatikon, a spiritual Body.* It is not to be questioned but that the same kind of Bodies is meant on both Sides. But it is well known, that the Philosophers did not design a gross Body mix'd up with Blood, much less, any kind of hard organical Machine; but a *Vehicle,* as they call it, composed of a rarified active Sort of Matter; so that this Body may be always of a like Nature with the Place, where the Souls are to reside; an Opinion which they are often repeating.



and our Enquiry. But the Remainder of the Things belonging to this Subject shall be comprehended in the following Chapter; because this is already grown too large.

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C H A P. VIII.

*What Sort of Body we are to have at the Resurrection? the same that we have at present, or a different one?*

**H**AVING now finished the first Part of the Discourse, which we begun concerning the Resurrection, which contains the Certainty and Causes of the Thing itself, and the Matter and Form of our new Bodies; let us proceed to satisfy the other Questions, which may be asked upon the same Subject, though they are of a much inferior Consequence. The first of which, is, Whether we shall rise with the same Body which we left off at our Death? The same numerical Body is here understood, a Body consisting of the same Matter, and the very same Particles. This is a very celebrated Question, but it appears to me to be rather curious than necessary. For how can it be your Interest or mine, whether we are to have the same Particles, or others  
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of the same Virtue and Dignity? how can it concern us what becomes of our Leavings and Carcasses, provided we live in the Light of Heaven, and in the Society \* of Angels? Yet, because there are at this Time no small Debates concerning this very Matter, let us, if you please, look into the State of the Cause, and then to what Part of it the sacred Scriptures and free Reason incline.

In the first Place, I believe, both Sides are agreed, that the Bodies of those which at the coming of our Lord shall be found among the Living, will be immediately changed, the same Particles being restrain'd, or, at least, a great Part of them; that is to say, as soon as this mortal Frame of Members is dissolved, the same Matter, (the Filth of it excepted) will be converted into another Form, and into other Qualities, that is, into the same Form, and the same Qualities, which immortal and incorruptible Bodies have. This is called by the Apostle, *not to be divested of a Body, but to be clothed upon with one, that Mortality may be swallowed up with Life: Or, that*  
*this*

\* But as we make no Account of the Shaving of the Beard or Head, so that divine Mind, when it makes its Exit from the Body, is as little concerned what becomes of its Case, whether the Fire consumes it, wild Beasts devour it, or the Earth covers it, regards it no more than a new born Infant does the After-birth. *Senec. Epist. 92.*

*this Corruptible may put on Incorruption*; which Transition can never be made without some melting and dissolving of the Parts; as terrestrial Bodies are purified or converted to Flame. Besides, if I am not mistaken, both Sides are agreed, that the Body of Christ, when he rose from the Dead, consisted of the same Particles which it did before; and, that when he ascended into Heaven he retained the same, and carried them to a celestial Purity, by Virtue of his enlivening Spirit.

These Things then being granted on both Sides, the only Debate and Doubt that remains, is, concerning ordinary Carcasses, or concerning the Bodies of the Dead, which have rotted, have been dissolved and dissipated, their Parts and Particles having been changed a thousand different Ways, and dispersed in a thousand different Places: The Question then is, Whether these Particles shall every one of them be recollected into separate little Heaps, according to the Number of Bodies that have died from the Beginning to the End of the World? Then whether every little Heap shall be worked up again into Limbs and Lineaments, and the entire Form and Shape of the former Body?

There are, indeed, several Passages of the sacred Scriptures, which appears to me, at the first Appearance, to favour this Unity, or, as it is wont to be call'd, this Identity of Bodies, the present and the future. Christ himself speaking concerning the Resurrection, *The Hour is coming, says he, in the which all that are in their Graves shall hear his Voice, i. e. the Voice of the Son of God, and shall come forth, &c.* Here Christ appears to hint, that at the Resurrection, the very same Carcasses that lie in their Graves shall hear his Voice, and come forth, as *Lazarus*, after he was brought to Life again, came forth from his Sepulchre. And consonant to this is what *St. John* says in the Revelations, *And the Sea gave up their Dead that were in it, at the universal Resurrection.* Each of the Elements, the Earth and the Water, shall restore the Carcasses which they have swallowed, that being once again animated, they may be set before the Judgment Seat. In like Manner, the Vision of the same Prophet, or the Scene of the Resurrection, testifies the same Thing; *I saw the Dead, says he, Small and Great stand before God.* If little ones remain little ones after the Resurrection, and the Prophet saw whole Troops of Infants, of Boys, of Youths,  
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and of Persons at the Age of Maturity, stand before the Judgment Seat, that appears to discover, that every one will have the same Body with which he died, whether it was little, or whether it was great.

I pass by that Passage of *Job*, because the *Hebrews*, and the best Interpreters of other Nations, all expound that by temporal Redemption and Restoration. Nor, indeed, is it probable, that an *Arabian*, a Native of a foreign Land, and before the Promulgation of the Law, and the Age in which *Moses* lived, should have a deeper Insight into the Mystery of the Resurrection than all the *Hebrews*, or the *Hebrew* Prophets, who lived many Ages after him. I pass by other Things that are figuratively shadowed in the Old Testament, and by the Prophets, which are wont to be brought to prove this Point. That which comes nearer to such a Proof is this, That *St. Paul*, in more than one Passage affirms, that these mortal Bodies will rise up again, or be changed into glorious Bodies; and though in this Chapter to the *Corinthians*, he seems at first to assert, that another kind of Bodies will arise different from that which fell, or was sown; yet, in what follows, understood according to the Letter, and the most obvious Sense, he seems to

retain the very same Body indued with new Qualities.

To these Quotations, brought from sacred Scripture, some Persons are pleased to add Reasons and Arguments, by which they industriously pretend to prove, that 'tis but just and equitable that the same numerical Body should arise, and be carried up into Heaven; that, as it performed its Part in the bearing Afflictions, or the Performanc of Duties in this Life, so it should be made Partaker of the Rewards and Glories of another. That they cannot think it just, that one should strive for the Victory, and that another should be crown'd, or that one should have all that is due to another, whether it be Good or Evil. And upon this Rock struck several of the antient Fathers.

But this Way of arguing, as we hinted before, is altogether unphilosophical, supported by none, or by a false Foundation, because no Matter whatever is capable either of Rewards or of Punishments, either of Grief or of Joy, but must be always insensible, either in the present or in a future Body. The Mind alone not only understands and wills, but alone is sensible, either of Grief or Pleasure, and has alone either Good or Evil Affections. 'Tis, therefore, rightly

rightly affirm'd of the Soul alone, that it does either Good or Evil, that it either enjoys or suffers, either offends or pleases God, and is either rewarded or punished: In fine, the Soul alone can be either happy or miserable. Besides, our Bodies have no Stability, nor are they always the same, but are in a perpetual Flux and Motion, and Mutation. We have had more or fewer Bodies in this Life, according to the Course of our Years; and, perhaps, in one we have behaved ourselves well, and in another ill: How then shall impartial Justice be rendered to each of them? But we have touched upon this Matter before; and 'tis hardly worth our while to dwell any longer upon refuting so wretched an Argument.

In the mean while, what shall we conclude from those Passages which we quoted above, from the sacred Scripture, which seems to affirm to us, that our mortal and immortal Bodies, as to their Substance, are one and the same. Why, we must conclude, that we must adhere to the Letter, provided we find other Things consenting to it; and we find no Obstacle on the Part of the Thing concerning which we treat. We are, therefore, first to enquire what that Opinion contains, or comprehends in it, of the Identity of both the Bodies ter-

restrial and celestial? What Conveniences or Inconveniences, or what Repugnancy attend that Opinion? We observed a little above, that our Body in this present Life is manifold; that 'tis dissipated and repaired daily; and that after a few Years it becomes entirely new. And, therefore, in the whole Course of one's Life, one has, perhaps, six or seven different Bodies, and even more if we live a great many Years.

This brings, a-fresh to my Mind, the Question which the *Sadducees* formerly proposed so absurdly, of the Woman that had seven Husbands, *viz.* which of them she should have at the Resurrection? Let the Soul, for the present, be that Woman, which had seven Bodies, as it were, so many Husbands: The Question is, which of the seven it shall have upon the Resurrection, for it had them all? Perhaps you will say, that of the seven which it had last. But it may very well be that the Soul did more Good, or more Evil in some other Body, than in the last, and, therefore, it ought rather to have that other Body the Companion of its Misery, or its Glory. Besides, how ill would the decrepit Body of an old Man, or the little helpless one of an Infant, become the Court of Heaven, and the Assemblies of Angels?

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And either in the one or the other of these Bodies, the greater Part of human Kind expires. But, if you would carry that Infantine diminutive Body up to the Flower of Life, or bring back the Body worn out with Age, to the same Youth with the other, there would be Occasion for so many, and so great Addition on one Side, and so many Amendments on the other, that like the *Vesiel Argus*, that was formerly a hundred Times repaired, it would be the same Body only in its Name. For my own Part, I had rather have a new Structure from Heaven, than a terrestrial Cottage, however augmented, or however repaired.

In the second Place, we are to observe, that when the same numerical Body is required in the Resurrection, 'tis likewise requir'd that it should consist of Parts of the same Kind, of the same Bowels, Humours and Members, of which it consisted in this mortal Life: But how this can possibly be I cannot see, when 'tis manifest from the sacred Scripture, that some of the Entrails and Members will be abolish'd; as the Belly, and all those Parts that regard  
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it, or that are under it. \* Besides, that our celestial Body is not constituted of Flesh and Blood, nor of any organical Structure we have above, if I am not mistaken, very clearly shewn; so that it cannot be the same as to Form, tho' it should be the same as to Matter. I am amazed to find that some Persons are arrived at that Height of Audaciousness, or of Temerity, that they are for having all the Parts rise again, and compose the celestial Body, which now compose the terrestrial; as the Palate, the Throat, the Bowels, and all those Parts which regard the Kitchen; as likewise those which distinguish the Sexes, or which were formed for the Procreation of Children; as likewise the Parts which are accounted excrementitious, as the Teeth, the Nails, the Hair and the Beard: All these Parts they will have to rise again, and constitute our celestial Body. These Things formerly gave Occasion for the Satyrical Reflections of several, which St. *Jerom* mentions: For if, said they, we are to have our Hair and our Beards in Heaven, *then there will be Occasion for*  
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\* That there will be no Difference of Sex, was the Opinion of *Athan.* *Serm.* 3. *contra Arian.* *Hilar.* *Can.* 23 in *Matt. Basil.* in *Psal.* cxiv. *Theod.* *quest.* 37 in *Gen. Macar.* *Hom.* 34.

*Tonsors there*: If Infants are to be there, *there will be Occasion for Nurses*: If the Blood is to be retained, says St. *Austin*, it will be asked, *why not likewise the Phlegm, why not the yellow and black Cholera?* Let them give Answers to these Questions who boldly pronounce that these Things are thus: In my Opinion these, and Things of the like Nature, rather become an Animal than an Angelical Life, such as the Saints will live in Heaven; *who are then the Sons of God, since they are the Sons of the Resurrection.* Gen. vi. Job. i. 1. and xxxviii. 7. Psal. lxxxix. 7.

Nor does the common Answer to this appear to have any Validity, *viz.* that these Entrails, these Parts will, indeed, be Parts of the celestial Body; but that they will be wholly inactive, nor discharge their several Functions in it, as they do in our present Bodies. But I desire you to tell me why they are there, if they have nothing to do there? To what Purpose are they restored, if they are to lie entirely useless? God never is redundant in Superfluities, and if in this imperfect and mortal Body which we now carry about us, we have no Parts, no, not the very least, which are unuseful and superfluous, can you affirm, that in a much more perfect  
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and excellent Body: the whole Frame of it, or at least the greatest Part of it, should be superabundant? But you retort upon this that all these Parts are requisite to make human Nature intire; and that for this Reason, they will not be wanting in Heaven. But what? can unuseful Parts be requisite to make human Nature entire, or indeed, any Nature? Those Parts, indeed, are requisite to make a terrestrial and mortal Body intire; but in the celestial and immortal one there is no Occasion for them: But human Nature is equally capable of both these Bodies. Nor will it be of any use to you to say that they are superadded for the Sake of Ornament: For what can be the Beauty, what can be the Comeliness of those Parts, which the Apostle himself pronounces to be uncomely? 1 *Cor.* xii. 23. or of those Parts which are hid in the Trunk of the Body, or those Parts which are requisite for the taking in Nourishment, or for the throwing out Excrements? \*

Hither-

\* Some of the Ancients, indeed, especially the *Epicureans*, gave their Gods the Human Form; whom *Cicero* refutes, in that they could have no Use for the external Parts, nor could there be any Beauty in the Internal. But there is nothing superfluous in Nature. *Nor do I approve of the outward Parts more than of the Inward; the Heart, the Lungs,*  
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the Question is, by what Means, or by what powerful Causes, the Parts and Particles of every singular Body, however distant, and wherever hid, can possibly be collected?

In vain will you have Recourse to Nature: She has no Powers that are equal to such, and so vast an Effect; nor can you appeal to divine Omnipotence, without a just, a worthy, and a necessary Cause. But since it is plainly of no Significancy, that we should have the same Parts, either numerical or specifical, in our immortal Body, which we had in our mortal one, shall we dare to imploy the supreme Power of the Deity upon a Matter useless and insignificant? Among Men it is said, *that the Labour about Trifles is Folly*; but such a Thing, with Regard to God, is neither to be uttered nor heard. To collect the Dust and the Ashes of all human Carcasses from the Origin of the World to the End of it, then to reduce every one of them to its own Mass and to its own Heap, and to work up and fashion that Heap anew into its old Shape, and Size, and Bigness, would be the most astonishing of all Miracles. But of such a Miracle, so manifold, and so useless, we have hitherto had no Example.

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Thus much concerning the Insignificancy and Impertinence of the Thing; but it is doubted by many, whether it is in the Number of those that are barely possible, since the same Part of Matter cannot be at the same Time in different Places or in different Bodies. Some Nations, say they, are *Anthropophagi*; they some of them feed upon others, and it is barely impossible that the same numerical Flesh can at the same Time be restored to several Bodies. But why do they mention some Nations? we are all of us *Allelophagoi*; we all of us feed upon the Remains of each other; not indeed immediately, but after they have had some Transmutations into Herbs and Animals: In those Herbs and Animals we eat our Ancestors, or, at least, some minute Parts of them. If the Ashes of every one, from the Beginning of the World, had been separately preserved in their own Urns or Coffins, or rather, if all Carcasses had been converted into Mummy, and had so remained, for the greater Part, intire, there would be some Hope of recovering several Parts of the same Body, without a Mixture of others. But since Carcasses, for the most Part, are dissolved and dissipated, and their Parts are mingled with the vast Body of the Universe, are exhaled into

Air, and fall down again into Dew and in Rain; and are imbibed by the Roots of Plants; and spring up again in Grass, in Corn, and in Fruit; and from thence return in a Circle to human Bodies again; it may very well happen, that by taking this Compass, the same Part of Matter may have undergone several *Metensomatoseis*, may have inhabited more Bodies than the Soul of *Pythagoras*; but that it should be restored to every one of these Bodies upon the Resurrection is absolutely impossible. If it is restored to the first Possessor, which seems to be but just, it will be missing in the others; or if it is restored to the last, it will be wanting to the first. Let us admit, if you please, for the Sake of Example, that the first Posterity of *Adam*, or the Men of the first Ages, should first reclaim their Bodies, and then, in Order, the People of every Age should require theirs: Scarce \* half Bodies will be remaining for the late Posterity of *Adam*, or the last

\* In Towns and Cities that are demolished, and turned into Fields, and in Frontier Countries, and the Boundaries of Kingdoms, such Transmutations are most remarkable: See *Plutarch's* Account of the *Massalian* Fields after the Battle of *Cymbria*, in his Life of *Marcus*. Those Lines of the Poet, to this Purpose, are sufficiently known.



last Inhabitants of the Earth, all those Parts and Particles being torn from them which belonged to the Bodies of their Ancestors.

Lastly, There is still another Knot in this Cause, which is not easily solved: For since the Parts of Matter are daily passing from one Kind to another, their Figure and Magnitude being changed, and with them their other Qualities; Flesh does not remain Flesh, nor does Blood remain Blood, from the Beginning to the End of the World, or from the Death of every one unto his Resurrection. To explain the Thing more clearly: Every Species or Order of Bodies consists of Particles which are proper to it, and which are distinguished from others by their Figure, their Bigness, their Motion, or their Quiet; which Particles being disposed in a certain Manner, in a due Situation, Mixture, or Texture, the Body becomes a Body of some determined Species, Order, and Name. Let us suppose then, for Example, that Flesh and Blood consist of Particles which are proper and peculiar to them: Now these Particles  
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*Iam Seges est ubi Troja fuit; ressecandaque falce  
Luxuriat Phrygio sanguine pinguis humus.*

*Where Troy once stood, now growing Corn is found,  
And Phrygian Blood has fatten'd all the Ground.*

are not unalterable; and when, upon Putrefaction of the Carcass, they are dissolved, and pass into other Bodies, it is impossible but that by passing through other Pores, and dissimilar Channels in dissimilar Bodies, they must alter their Figures and their Magnitudes, and so be transformed to Particles of another Kind; and therefore, if they were collected and mixed, they would not constitute Flesh and Blood, but Substances and Juices of another Kind.

The few Things that have been said, if I am not mistaken, have made it manifest, that for us to have the same Bodies at the Resurrection that we have at present, would be a Work of little Significancy, and of vast Operation, if it would not be absolutely impossible, which will appear still the more clearly the more we weigh and consider all those Things that are included in that Identity. And besides, whatever we discoursed of above, as well concerning the Matter as the Form of our celestial Body, is to be added to these Arguments; for all that proves *a Fortiori*, that both Bodies cannot be the same, since they agree neither in Matter nor Form: And, therefore, both the seventh Chapter and this are confederated and related, and transmit their Light to the several Parts of each

each other: Both manifestly conspire in the same Opinion, in the \* Diversity of our mortal and immortal Bodies; a Diversity, as well specifical as numerical, as well with Regard to Substances as to Accidents. †

Hitherto we have examined what the sacred Scripture on one Side, and what Reason and the Nature of the Thing, on the other Side dictate and determine concern-

\* But you will object, perhaps, that it cannot be the same Person, unless there be the same Body, or at least, the greater Part of it: Yes, certainly; tho' the Soul was annexed to no Part of its late dead Body; nay, tho' it were to have no Body at all, it would be still the same Person. St. Paul says, he was snatch'd up into the third Heaven, and yet knew not whether in the Body or out of the Body. Let us suppose it were out of the Body; was it not then the same Paul, and the same Person? Christ said to the Thief, *To Day thou shalt be with me in Paradise.* The Body of this Thief remained still upon the Cross, and never went into Paradise. Whom was it then Christ took with him; another Person or this same? Besides, Christ himself was the same, or the same Person, during the three Days of his Death, whilst the sacred Trunk of his Body lay in the Grave. Likewise, all the Saints and Martyrs, Prophets and Patriarchs; in short, all the Dead, good and bad, remain the same Persons before they take up their Bodies again, as is plain from every one's enjoying their proper peculiar Portion, and separate from all others.

† But if any one is so very fond of his terrestrial Body, that he cannot be contented without it, let it rise again, and let him have it, under the same Shape, and made up of the same Particles; I shall not stand much against it, provided he will allow that *terrestrial Body* to be changed immediately into a Heavenly one of another Form, and other Qualities.

cerning the same or a different Body, in this and the future Life in the Heavens and on the Earth; and as far as I am able to collect from the Testimonies on both Sides, the Difference, as it appears to me, must be this Way decided. According to the literal Hypothesis in Scripture, the same Body which fell is to rise again, the same Carcass that lies in the Sepulchre is to come forth from it. At the Call of Christ, or at the Sound of the Trumpet, the Sea shall cast forth its Dead, and the Earth likewise its Dead, and every Element, every Region of this inferior World shall bring to Light the Carcasses, either untouched or renewed, which it had swallowed and concealed.

This appears to me to be the Idea of the Resurrection, that is the most frequently to be met with in the sacred Writings, and the Idea the most adapted to the Capacity of the Vulgar; which, therefore, we may be allowed to call the *Vulgar Hypothesis*: But yet there are in the same sacred Writings some occult Marks of the Body which we are to have at the Resurrection, which to those, who look more narrowly into the Nature of Things, sufficiently discover, that when we shall be equal to the Angels, and conformable to the Glory and the Refulgency of Christ himself, our Bodies will  
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be then of another Order from those which we have at present, and vastly different both as to Matter and Form, from this gross Structure of Members, and this Medley of Humours and Bowels; and therefore, that the secret Doctrine, or the reasonable Hypothesis upon this Point, is one Thing, and the Vulgar quite another: And this often happens in the Style of the sacred Scripture, that a Thing is expressed or represented popularly, and adapted to the Capacity of the Vulgar in some Places, while yet in others, there are not wanting Marks, by which a diligent Searcher may bring forth the latent Truth to Light. *We speak Wisdom among the Perfect*, says the Apostle; and among the Imperfect, the Things that are more adapted to the Capacity of the People: By which Manner and Method of Instruction, the Divine Wisdom appears to me to shine very brightly out, because at the same Time that Milk is provided for Children, solid Food is prepared for those who are come to Maturity.

Hitherto we have explained, as succinctly and as distinctly as we possibly could, the weightier Points, as they appeared to us, in the Doctrine of the Resurrection, and of those sacred Bodies which we are to have in the Heavens; and that by laying before

the Reader, both the one and the other Hypothesis, the Rational and the Vulgar. 'Tis known to every one, and granted by all, that the sacred Scripture does often *anthropolgein* speak after the Manner of Men, in handling abstruser Points. And, if I am not mistaken, both the Scene of the general Judgment, and that of the general Resurrection, is represented after the Manner of Men in its first Appearance, and its external Ornaments; but if you look more narrowly into the Thing, the Thing itself, indeed, will appear the same, but will appear in a Form of a great deal more Simplicity: But some of the Antients, by not distinguishing between this double Hypothesis, have rendered the Doctrine of the Resurrection almost unintelligible.

But we ought to observe, that there is still another Thing which occasioned Obscurity or Confusion in the handling this Point; and that is, from not sufficiently distinguishing between the first Resurrection and the second, according to the Sentiments of the Antients: For many of the antient Fathers greatly distinguished between these, and were of Opinion, that we should have one Kind of Body upon the first Resurrection, and another upon the second: That upon the first Resurrection we should have a Bo-  
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dy composed of Flesh and Bones, and Blood, like that which we have at present, but yet more pure and more perfect, such as the Body of *Adam* in *Paradise* is believed to have been; but that upon the second Resurrection, we should have a celestial and spiritual Body, without Flesh, and without Blood, like unto the glorious Body of Christ, the second *Adam*; such a one as is described by *St. Paul*, in his Discourse to the *Corinthians*, concerning the Resurrection. And as many of the Fathers as defended the Millennial Kingdom of Christ, who were neither few nor inglorious, distinguished between the two Kinds of Bodies which we are to have after this Life. And this Distinction being once admitted, there are two different Ways of answering the Questions above proposed, concerning the Nature and the Identity of Bodies, upon the Resurrection, which Answer is to be made according as the Question is understood concerning the first or second Resurrection. If the Question is, What the Body will be upon the first Resurrection? the Answer is, That it will be of Flesh, but not the same numerical Body with that which we have at present. If the Question is concerning the second Resurrection, the Answer is, That it will be the same numerical

rical Body with that of its immediate Predecessor, but neither carnal nor terrestrial; so that it is plain, that in this Debate nothing certain can be determin'd 'till the Parties are come to an Agreement concerning the State of the Case; that is, whether the Question is concerning only one Resurrection, or concerning a double one. But whatever we have said above, from the sacred Characters or Marks, concerning the Resurrection, regards the last and universal Resurrection, and the celestial Bodies which the Saints will then have: For this is the most noted and the most celebrated Resurrection in all the sacred Writings, upon which alone, if I am not mistaken, the Apostle, *St. Paul*, founded his Dissertation. But concerning the first Resurrection in the Millennial Kingdom of Christ, and the Renovation of all Things, we shall treat in the following Chapter; and that being explain'd, it will be more manifest and more perspicuous what Judgment we are to form concerning the whole Matter.

In the mean Time, it is rightly affirmed by *Tertullian*, that the great Dependance of Christians is upon the Resurrection of the Dead, which Assertion is true concerning either Resurrection, and that Author has more than once made Mention of that  
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first Resurrection; for he was a Chiliaft: And, therefore, we are to understand that *Treatise of the Resurrection of the Flesh*, (in which there is more Wit than Judgment,) to be meant of the first Resurrection; when we are again to put on the Flesh, or a carnal Body, and that here upon Earth. But the second Resurrection is rather a total Change, than a Resurrection, and a Transition to an Angelical Life, or that I may use his own Words, a \* Mutation into an angelical Substance, and a Translation into the celestial Kingdom. In the like Manner when *Justin Martyr* treats of the first Resurrection, he calls it  
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\* We acknowledge we have a Kingdom promised us upon Earth: And this, before we come to Heaven, but yet in another State, that is, after the Resurrection, to continue for a thousand Years in the divine *Jerusalem*, a City brought down from Heaven, which the Apostle calls our *Mother which is above*, &c. This, I say; is provided by God for the Reception of the Saints at the Resurrection, for the Refreshment of all the Good and Spiritual-minded, and to make Amends for those Things which we have neglected or lost in this present Life. This is the Design of this earthly Kingdom; and after this has last a thousand Years, within which Space, the Resurrection of all the Saints shall be compleated, some rising sooner, some later, according to their Merits, then shall follow the Destruction of the World, and the fiery Judgment; and then we shall be changed in a Moment into angelical Substances, by putting on that incorruptible Body, and be removed into the heavenly Kingdom. *Tertul.* 1 3. *contra. Marc. cap. ult.*

the *Resurrection of the Flesh*, viz. in the *Millennium*, (p. 307.) and *Irenæus* proves that that first Resurrection will be a Resurrection of the Flesh, *Lib. v. c. 33.*

But to return to that Saying of *Tertullian*, *The Resurrection of the Dead makes the great Confidence and the Dependance of Christians.* Christ is our Hope, Christ is our Life, who by his own powerful Word shall call the Dead into Life, he himself being the Head, and the first Fruits of the Resurrection. But that Day of the Lord is the Day of Retribution to the Just, and the Restitution of all Things. The coming of Christ, or of the Messiah, was the Hope and Expectation of all good Men. Armies of Angels celebrated his Birth, crying, *Glory be to God on high, Peace on Earth.* But how much greater will be the Peace upon Earth, upon the second coming of Christ, attended with a Guard of ten thousand Angels. If *John*, when he was scarce alive, leapt in the Womb of his Mother, at the Voice of *Mary* saluting *Elizabeth*, *Luke i.* if the Virtue and Influence of Jesus was so great, of Jesus yet a little Infant, of Jesus hardly conceived, nay, hardly formed, and latent in the Bowels of his Mother, that *John* felt him approaching whom he was not able to see; how

how much a quicker and more powerful Sense shall the Souls of the Dead, in which State soever they lie reposed, have of the coming of the same Christ in Triumph, have of the Approach of their God, while the Just lift up their Heads with Joy, the Time of their Redemption being at hand? God has, in a great Measure, concealed, from us, the Conditions of the middle World, or of the intermediate State, between the Day of Death, and the Resurrection, and afflicts us with the Evils and Miseries of this present Life, that we should be the more intent upon the Hope of the Resurrection to come, and should, at a mighty Distance, with erected Countenances, and, as it were, with stretched out Necks, expect the second coming of Christ, that glorious *Epiphaneian*. Since then we have this Hope, and this Confidence, let us persist in Piety and in Virtue unshaken, *As knowing that our Labour will not be in vain in the Lord.* Rom. viii, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22.

## C H A P. IX.

*Of the first and last Resurrection: Of the new Heavens, and the new Earth, and the Renovation of Nature: Of the Millennial Kingdom of Christ, and the Consummation of all Things.*

WE have above taken Notice of a double Resurrection: The First, which is to be particular; and the Last, which is to be universal. Which Distinction, indeed, is rarely to be met with in the sacred Writings, and only in the *Revelations* of *St. John*, expressly, if I am not mistaken. Nor does this in the least hurt the Truth of the Thing, nor is it foreign from the Use and Manner of the holy Spirit. The Prophets in the *Old Testament* did not foretel a double coming of a Messiah at least, not explicitly, or in an Expression adapted to the Capacity of the *Jews*; to whom it was neither known formerly, nor does it yet seem to be known. And, therefore, no body ought to wonder, at least, no Body ought to be offended, if Providence has been less frequent, or more slow in the Revelation of this double Resurrection; or at its reserving the unfolding of  
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that Mystery for the last of its Prophets: For since it was his Business to comprehend and explain, in his Prophecy, both the prosperous and the adverse Fates of the Christian Church through every Age, to the Consummation of all Things; both the Occasion, the Time, and the Reason of the Thing required, that he should not pass by unmentioned or in Silence the Millennial Kingdom of Christ, or the first Resurrection of Saints. Therefore in the twentieth Chapter of his Prophecy, he has discover'd and explain'd this Secret, which had lain hid so many Ages.

Besides, we are to observe, that from this Error or Blindness of the *Jews*, concerning one only coming of the Messiah, many other Errors proceeded. From hence they expected the Messiah would be glorious, and illustrious, and powerful, from his very first Appearance; the Glory of his second coming being unhappily transferred to the first, or both being in one and the same confounded. Then they referred several Things besides, which related entirely to the second coming of the Messiah, to the Days of the Messiah promiscuously and without Distinction. And from thence they believed, that the Resurrection would happen without any Distinction in the Days

of the Messiah. From hence the Renovation of Earth and Heaven, and all the other Marks of those happy and glorious Times, which the Prophets foretold would be in the Days of the Messiah; that then the Age would come, of which they place so many, and such wonderous Things to the Days of the Messiah. The *Jews* foretel that these and several besides, as Peace and Justice, universal Plenty, and a Government entirely divine, would happen in those Days; and all these Things they foretel most truly, if they are referred to the second coming of the Messiah. Distinguish but the Times, and all Things will then agree. But from the not rightly distinguishing those, no small Confusion formerly arose in the Faith of the *Jews*, with regard to the fore-mentioned Heads, and no small Confusion to this very Day remains.

After the same Manner, there has arisen a Dissention and Obscurity, concerning the Nature and State of the Bodies which we shall have at the Resurrection, because the Christian Authors have not distinguished the first Resurrection from the second; some, for Example, contending for Flesh and Blood, and an organical Frame, and Bodies compounded and shap'd like those  
which

which we have at present, while others are of Opinion, that our gross Bodies will be chang'd into thin and ætherial ones. Each of these Opinions may be true, provided you distinguish between the two Resurrections. Upon the first Resurrection, for Example, when we are to live under the new Heavens, and upon the new Earth, our Bodies will be terrestrial, and compounded and shap'd like those which we now have: But at the End of the Millennium, when we ascend into Heaven, the same will be changed into celestial and ætherial Bodies as the Nature of the Place and that angelical Life will manifestly require; which we observ'd above.

But the Renovation of the World, and the Millennial Kingdom of Christ, which are Things of the greatest Weight, will precede this Ascension into Heaven, and second Resurrection, concerning which we speak: We are obliged, therefore, to say a few Things beforehand concerning them; but a few Things will be sufficient, because we have treated more largely of each of them in the sacred *Theory of the Earth*, l. iv.

The general Conflagration being over; and the Earth, by the extream Force of those Fires, being reduced to a sort of a

Chaos; from that Chaos, by the Influence of the divine Power and Wisdom, a new Earth is to be form'd, after the Image of the primitive and paradisaick one, that is, without any Ocean, without Mountains or broken Rocks, or rugged Inequalities; to which will answer a new Heaven, serene and mild, and without nauseous Vapours, and then will flourish a perpetual Spring, free from the Vicissitudes of Seasons, or the Inconveniences of Heat and Cold; concerning which new and at present unufal Phænomena's, in the foresaid Book, we have sufficiently treated.

All Antiquity, as well sacred as prophane, has celebrated this future Renovation of the World, as we have shewn in another Place. Among the antient Prophets, *Isaiab* twice declares, that there would be new Heavens, and a new Earth; and adds, that the Marks of this Renovation of Nature would be the Logevity, or rather the Immortality of its Inhabitants, and a Race of harmless Animals. St. *John*, in his Visions concerning the new *Jerusalem*, acquaints us, that he had beheld new Heavens and a new Earth; and adds, that the Characteristical Mark of that new Earth would be, that it would have no Sea. This Resurrection of the World,  
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if I may use the Expression, is said by Christ to be *palingenesia*; in which Term is included the Pre-existence of the World, which is understood here, its Destruction, and its Regeneration. After the same Manner St. *Peter*, in his Discourse to the *Jews*, *Acts* iii. 21. makes use of *apokatastasis*, the Times of the Restitution of all Things: And both in one and the other Passage, you have for a Characteristical Mark a Time of Reward and Recompence, and by Consequence an Age to come. St. *Paul*, in several Places, hints at this future Renovation of the World: First, he teaches us, that Nature, as it stands now, is made subject to Vanity, and shall be freed from the Bondage of Corruption when the Sons of God shall enjoy a glorious Liberty: But that this Discourse of the Apostle is to be understood of the natural World, has, I believe, in another Place been sufficiently proved. Lastly, The same Apostle acquaints us, that *ten oikoumenen ten mellousan*, the future World shall be inhabited when the Figure of this shall have passed away; and subjects it to Christ, as to its proper Master, *Heb.* ii. 5. *1 Cor.* vii. 31. But the Discourse of St. *Peter*, in his second general Epistle, Chap. iii. is much more clear and open than all these; where  
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he treats of this Matter distinctly, and not only asserts, that there will be new Heavens, and a new Earth, but likewise makes Mention of the two that precede them, and distinguishes them into the *Antediluvian* and the *Present*. But now since this Passage of *St. Peter* seems to me to be irrefutable and unanswerable, besides what we have already said succinctly, it will be highly worth our while to dwell something longer upon it.

The Adversaries of this Opinion convert into Allegories whatever has been said by the Prophets concerning this new Heaven, and this new Earth, and so pretend to elude it; but the foresaid Discourse of *St. Peter* about these same new Heavens and new Earth, can, by no Strength of human Understanding, and no human Art, be resolved into Allegories, or wrested from the literal Sense. It is expressly ordained, and industriously instituted to shew the mutable Nature of Things, and a successive threefold World; I mean the natural World, concerning which, the Dispute was with those Scoffers. And it is remarkable, that by the Words *Heaven and Earth*, the *Hebrews* understood the visible World, or the Nature of Things. But let us, if you please, take a View of the Words of the  
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Apostle relating to this Matter, (*Ver. 11, 12, 13.*)

*Seeing then that all these Things shall be dissolved, what Manner of Persons ought we to be in all holy Conversation and Godliness; looking for, and hasting, unto the coming of the Day of God, wherein the Heavens being on Fire, shall be dissolved, and the Elements shall melt with fervent Heat. Nevertheless we, according to his Promise, look for new Heavens, and a new Earth, wherein Righteousness shall dwell.*

There are several Things in this Discourse of the Apostle, which, compar'd with what precedes it, plainly discover, that the Words *new Heaven and new Earth*, are confined in their Signification to the visible and natural World: First, The Force, the Use, and the Signification of the same Words, or of the same Phraseology, in the Verses that are antecedent to it: Secondly, The very Form, Structure, and Context of Speech, by which this Renovation is express'd; and Lastly, The Time to which it relates. All these are as so many Witnesses, which prove that the Apostle here speaks of material and real, and not imaginary and allegorical Earth, and Heavens. As for the first Proof of this, the same Diction, or the same Manner of speaking, no less than  
twice

twice occurs to us in this very Chapter. In the fifth Verse of it we have, *the Earth and the Heavens which formerly were*, or which are past, that is to say, the Antediluvian World. In the seventh Verse we have, *the Earth and the Heavens which now are*, that is, which are present to us, or the Post-diluvian World. Lastly, in the thirteenth Verse we find, *the new Heavens and the new Earth*, that are to come, that is, after the Conflagration. But now since, by the Consent of all, *the Heavens and the Earth*, both in the fifth, and the seventh Verse, are to be understood literally of the material and natural Frame and Structure of the Earth and the Heavens, I would fain know by what Right or by what Rule of interpreting, we can be justified in wresting the very same Words, or the very same Expression, in the same Chapter, in the same Context, in the Continuation of the same Argument, to a foreign Signification? So that by the first and second Passage we understand the natural World; but a figurative and allegorical World by the third Passage; and this without the least Mark from the Author, that he has chang'd his Style, or at least Necessity on the Part of the Subject Matter.

But

But now secondly, the Form of this Discourse, and the Manner by which it is coherent with and dependant on what precedes it, both equally testify the same Thing. After the Apostle had described the Burning of the present World, he adds, *But, or nevertheless we expect new Heavens, and a new Earth.* He substitutes these new Heavens and this new Earth in the Room of those that were burnt and perished. These, then, must be of the same Kind with those that perished, that is to say, material, and not allegorical, which is the same Thing as if the Apostle had said, tho' the present Heavens and the present Earth must one Day perish, as we have already explained to you; yet here will not be an absolute End, (which perhaps you may suspect) but only a Renovation of all Things; for we expect, according to the Promise which we have received from God, that other Heavens, and another Earth, in which the Righteous shall dwell, will succeed those which are now. But thirdly, and lastly, since this new World, or this Renovation, be that what it will, is not to appear 'till after the general Conflagration, we may certainly infer from the Time, that by this Renovation cannot be understood any Evangelical Renovation, (as our

allegorical Adversaries are pleased to assert,) or any other in this Life. And these Arguments, unless I am mistaken, prove unanswerable, that the Heavens and Earth, in this Discourse of the Apostle, are to be taken, *kata kurioloxian* according to the genuine Force of the Words, and the manifest Nature of the Thing. \*

These Things being thus laid down and granted, let this be the first Conclusion drawn from them, *That the natural World, or the Heavens, and the Earth, will be renewed after the Conflagration:* And then let this be the second Conclusion to be proved by what is to follow, *That the Millennium, or the Millennial Kingdom of Christ is to be celebrated in the World renewed, or the Renovation of Earth and Heaven.*

The Millennial Kingdom of Christ was esteemed an orthodox Doctrine by the  
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\* We very justly accuse the *Socinians* of their unfair and perverse Interpretation, in wresting what St. *John* says, in the Beginning of his Gospel, about the natural World, into a moral and allegorical Sense: But they who, in the present Case, \*\*\* fall into the very same Error, are equally culpable, whilst they interpret what St. *Peter* so plainly says of the material World, as though he had meant it of a moral and allegorical one. For I will be bold to affirm, that St. *John*, in the Beginning of his Gospel, does not more clearly or distinctly intend the natural World, than St. *Peter* does here, when he speaks of new Heavens and a new Earth.

primitive Christians, and continued for a while unpolluted, and for that Reason uncontroverted: But when the more modern Millennaries had partly corrupted this Doctrine, and partly saw less clearly into it, who placed the Seat of this Kingdom in the present Earth, and its Felicity in the present Life; and when this Error had given a Handle to warm and fanatick Spirits, puff'd up with a groundless Hope, of raising great Disturbances in the Church, which gave Offence to the Good and the Wise; this innocent and orthodox Doctrine began to lose its Reputation with many, and is, even to this Day, in some Measure, invidious. Wherefore, that we may find a Remedy for this Mischief, it will be worth our while briefly to unfold what the antient Fathers determined concerning this Matter; and when and where they believed that this Kingdom would be.

As to the Point itself, we have already, in another Place, if I am not very much mistaken, proved from the Writings of the Prophets and the Apostles, that there will be, one Day, a Millennial Kingdom of Christ upon Earth, either the Earth which we have at present, or the new one which will succeed it: And the most antient Fathers, of almost all Nations, are produced

as Witnesses in this Cause. Many *Grecians*, and likewise *Latins* and *Africans*. In this Number are chiefly *Papias*, the *Hieropolitan* Bishop, *Justin Martyr*, and the Reviver or Enlarger of the *Sibylline* Verses before the Time of *Justin*; the Writer of the Epistle that goes under the Name of *St. Barnaby Irenæus*, *Melito of Sardis*, *Methodius*: Besides these, there are *Tertullian*, and *St. Cyprian*, his Disciple, *Africans*: Then there is *Nepos*, the *Egyptian* Bishop, and *Victorinus* and *Lactantius*, *Latins*. All these lived within the third Century, while the Apostolick \* Doctrine yet remained entire and uncorrupted. And of these Fathers there are some, who do not only declare that this is their own Opinion, but the Opinion of the whole Church that was contemporary with them, and of all others who had right Sentiments with Regard to the Christian Faith; nay, some of them do no doubt to affirm, that this Doctrine descended traditionally from *St. John* and the other Apostles.

But besides these express Testimonies which offer themselves naturally the first in the Cause before us, there are other Arguments

\* See the Place of *Gennadius*. The Treatise of *Tychonius* is in *B. B. P. P.* and in *Orthodoxoyes*.



ments and Proofs that are founded on the History of those Times, which manifestly shew that this Doctrine of the Kingdom, for so it was formerly called, was esteemed a Christian Doctrine; and that, as well by the Heathens as ours. By the Heathens, I say, who dreaded that King whom the Christians expected should come; whom, therefore, they accused of Ambition, or of spreading the Seeds of Sedition, and of believing that they should one Day obtain a Kingdom upon Earth. The forementioned *Justin*, in the Apology which he made for the Christians to *Antoninus Pius*, has these Words, which manifestly relate to this very Matter: *Υμεis ακουσαντες Βασιλειας προσδοκοντας εμας, ακριτος ανθρωπινον λεγειν εμας υπειλεφατε, εμον τον μετα Θεου λεγοντον, &c.* You hearing it said that we expect a Kingdom, believe that we are foolish enough to mean a human Kingdom, whereas we intend such a one in which we are to reign together with God: For whereas the Christians were wont to exhort one another to suffer Death with a dauntless Spirit, because they who were Martyrs in the Cause of Christ were to have the Enjoyment of this Kingdom: The Heathens understood by this Kingdom, in the present Life, as if the Christians were attempting  
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something against the *Roman Empire*, or entertained a Belief that they should become the Lords of it. To whom *Justin*, in the following Words, returns a very proper Answer: *Since we suffer Death, in the Cause of Christ, with so chearful a Spirit, it is manifest, that either we have no Hope of a Kingdom in this Life, or that we rashly or foolishly throw away that Hope, and destroy it together with Life.*

Besides, the same Thing is proved by the Acts of *Domitian*: For as *Herod*, after Christ was born, was afraid he should take his Kingdom from him, by Reason of a Report among the *Jews*, that the Messiah, whom at that Time they expected, would restore the Kingdom to *Israel*; so afterwards *Domitian* the Emperor, as the Historians relate, caused all to be destroyed that sprung from the Root of *David*; and caused the Relations of Christ to be examined, that they might give an Account of Christ and his Kingdom, what it was, and when and where it was to appear; which Inquiry was occasioned by the Discourses and Books of the Christians concern-

cerning the Kingdom of Christ that was one Day to be upon Earth.\*

So much for the Heathens: To come to the Christians. This seems to me to be a Proof of their Faith as to this Point; that *they put up Prayers for the Dead*, that they might

\* Our Saviour never deny'd (though he had many Opportunities offered him of denying it) that he was a King, or that he should have a Kingdom. [See *Luke xxiii. Acts xvii. 7.*] He said indeed, to *Pilate*, when he asked him, whether he was the King of the *Jews*, that *his Kingdom was not of this World*; which is true enough; for in the World the Wicked, Satan, and Antichrist reign; but when these his Enemies shall be destroyed, and the World renewed, in that new World he shall reign, together with his Saints. Christ deny'd the Sons of *Zebedee* the first Seats in his Kingdom, but never disowned the Kingdom itself: So likewise when his Disciples asked him about the Time of his Kingdom, *Acts i. 6.* He did not think proper, it is true, to inform them as to that very Point, but neither does he deny that he was to have a Kingdom some Time. But that Christ, as well as they that proposed the Thing to him, understood it of the terrestrial, and not the celestial eternal Kingdom, appears from those earthly and temporal good Things, *en te palingenesia. Matt. xix. 18.* (which Words, we have before observed, denote the Renovation of the World.) And at his last Supper he tells them, *That he would not drink of the Juice of the Vine till he drank it new with them in the Kingdom of his Father*, *Matt. xxvi. 29.* And at the same Time he says, *Luke xxii, 29, 30. I appoint unto you a Kingdom, as my Father hath appointed unto me, that ye may eat and drink at my Table in my Kingdom.* In Heaven there is no eating or drinking; and altho' those Words are sometimes used metaphorically, yet we must keep close to the primary Signification of all Words, unless Necessity obliges us to give them another Signification, which is not the Case here.

might have a Part in the first Resurrection. That Prayers and Oblations for the Dead were for some Ages in Use, as we observed above, is to me indubitable; not that this was done always with the same Design, nor that they always in their Supplications desired the same Favours and the same Benefits for the Souls of the Departed: That they might enjoy Peace and Rest, and be free from the extream Violence of the torturing Fires, that they might quickly rise again, and have a Part in the first Resurrection. This was the Sum of their Prayers. The last of these is plainly expressed by *Tertullian*, when in these Words he describes the Duty of a pious Wife towards her departed Husband: *She prays for his Soul; and in the mean Time desires Refreshment for him, and a Share for him in the first Resurrection.* And in another Place he esteems the Delay of the Resurrection to be instead of a Punishment for the Expiation of lighter Faults. Nor were the Prayers unlike to these, which *St. Ambrose*, in his Funeral Oration for *Valentinian* the Second, put up to God for the two Brothers, *Gratian* and *Valentinian*, snatch'd from the World by an untimely Death. He ends the Oration with these Words: *I beseech thee, Almighty God, that thou*  
*wouldst.*

wouldst raise up these two Youths, who were dear and amiable to me, and to all who knew them, by a timely Resurrection, and that thou wouldst recompense their untimely Death by an early Resurrection. And in another Place, pursuing the same Point, he establishes divers Ranks and Degrees of those that rise from the Dead, and makes them rise at different Times. Lastly, in the antient *Gothick* Liturgy, \* this Form of publick Prayers is prescribed; *That God would vouchsafe to place the Souls of those who are at rest in the Bosom of Abraham, and admit them to a Share of the first Resurrection, through Jesus Christ our Lord:* For when the Antients did not believe that the Souls of the Righteous did ascend into Heaven immediately after Death, there to enjoy supream Glory and beatifick Vision; and when before that Time they expected the first Resurrection, and the Kingdom of Christ; and esteemed the Enjoyment of that as the first Degree of Beatitude they put up Prayers to God that this State, that this Resurrection might be granted to those that were fallen asleep in the Lord, as a

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\* Consult other Liturgies, *Mosarab* and *Ambrose*, or *Ital.* See *Daille de pæn.* p. 513. p. ult.

Pledge of their future Glory, and a Sort of Incitation into celestial Life.

But enough of this: For there is no Occasion to say any more of a Thing that is known and granted; for they who are most conversant in the Writings of the Antients, or of modern and living Authors, though they are not of the Party of the Millennaries; yet they acknowledge, that this Doctrine of the Kingdom of Christ upon Earth, was very much received in the first Ages of the Church. But in what Earth, the present, or the future, this Millennial Kingdom of Christ is to be erected, they do not equally agree. 'Tis vulgarly believed, by the more modern Millennaries, that Christ will have his Kingdom in this Life, and upon the present Earth. But this Belief of theirs, if I am not extremely mistaken, is neither agreeable to the Sense of the Antients, nor to the Sense of sacred Scripture; nor Lastly, to the Nature of the Thing itself: As to those antient Millennaries, whose Writings are still remaining, they all of them speak of the Renovation of the natural World to be accomplished upon the coming of Christ. *Justin* mentions it more than once in his Dialogue with *Trypho*: And places the Millennium in the new and re-established *Jerusalem*, quoting  
to

to that Purpose the Words of the Prophets concerning the new Heavens and the new Earth. Then (p. 369.) he calls that Earth, in which the Saints, together with Christ, are to reign, *ten ton agion gen, The Land of the Saints.* And he attributes no less to Christ *ten kainourgesin, the Renovation of the World,* than the first Formation of the World itself, p. 340.

It is after the same Manner that *Irenæus* joins the Renovation of Nature with the Times of the Kingdom. *The forementioned Benediction,* says he, which is the Promise that was made to *Jacob* concerning the Fertility of the Earth, *belongs undoubtedly to the Times of the Kingdom, when the Just shall rise from the Dead and reign; and when the Creature renew'd and freed from its original Curse, shall bring forth abundantly all Sorts of Food, both from the Dew of the Heavens, and the Fertility of the Earth.* He says the same Thing, or what is equivalent to it, in the following Chapter, and so onward to the End of the Book.

The following Words of *Lactantius* seem to have the same Tendency: *For God will come, says he, to cleanse this Globe from all its Pollution, and to raise up the reviving Souls of the Just, infused into new*  
 P p 2 Bodies,

*Bodies, to the Enjoyment of eternal Felicity.*

Lastly, if we may believe *Gelasius of Cyzicum*, the *Nicene Fathers* were of the same Opinion, and placed the Kingdom of Christ and the Righteous, upon the new Earth in these Words: *Kainous ouranou kai kainen gen prosdokomen, kata iera grammata phainomenes emin tes epiphaneias kai Basileias tou megalou Theou kai soterou emon Jesou Christou, &c.* We expect new Heavens, and a new Earth, according to the sacred Writings, when the illustrious Presence and the Kingdom of our great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ shall appear to us. And then, as saith *Daniel*, (*Chap. vii. 18.*) the Saints shall receive the Kingdom of the most high; and the Earth shall be pure, righteous, holy; the Earth of the Living, and not of the Dead; which *David* foreseeing by the Eyes of Faith, cries out, (*Psal. xxvii. 13.*) *I had fainted unless I had believed I should see the Goodness of the Lord in the Land of the Living, the Land of the Meek and Humble. Blessed are the Meek, says Christ, for they shall inherit the Earth. And, says Isaiab, the Feet of the Meek and Humble shall tread upon it.* You see, that according to these Fathers, the Seat of the Millennium will be in the new Heavens, and the new Earth;  
and



and consequently, according to the Opinion of the antient Millenaries, that blessed Order of Things is not to be expected before the Renovation of the World.

I must confess the Antients do not always agree concerning the Order of the Conflagration and Renovation of the World, which should precede, and which should follow. *Tertullian* seems to make the Conflagration follow the Renovation; but erroneously. And he might easily have corrected his Error from the Words of *St. Peter*, who, the Heavens and Earth being burnt, has new Heavens and a new Earth immediately at hand to succeed them, for the Just to inhabit. Nor is it easy to conceive the Renovation of the World, without the preceding Conflagration, or at least without some vehement Concussion or Conflagration, which should destroy the Race of Men, especially, if, according to the Idea of *St. John, Revel. xxi. 1.* the new Earth should have a new Form, and the new habitable World should be without a Sea. And this, perhaps, may give Occasion to many to err, because there is to be a twofold Mutation of the World, one at the Beginning and the other at the End of the Millennium; when the Earth and the Heavens shall fly away, and their Place shall

shall be found no more. But this Flight of the Earth and the Heavens, and the deserting their antient Place, which is to be at the End of the Millennium, is by no Means to be understood of the common Conflagration, but of some more remarkable Change, such as at the End of the Millennium will accrue to the Bodies of the Saints which will then be transported into celestial Regions.

But these Things by the Way: Let us proceed in what we designed; and let us now see upon what Earth, whether the present or the future, *the sacred Authors* place that Kingdom in which Christ is to reign together with his Saints. St. John (*Rev. xxi. 1, 2.*) saw new Heavens and a new Earth; then he saw the holy City, or the new *Jerusalem*, descending from the Heavens, that is to say, into that new Earth, for whether could it else descend? But it is plain, from the foregoing Chapter, that the holy City, (the same with the beloved City,) is the Kingdom of Christ, or the Metropolis of that Kingdom, and consequently that the Prophet saw the Kingdom of Christ descending upon the new Earth, upon which it was to have its Seat.

Besides, the whole Series of the Apocalyptic Visions, and the Length of Time

in which they are contained, leave no Room for the Millennium, and the Things that must go before it, within the Limits of this present World. I really believe that this World will not at most, remain a thousand Years from this present Time: And if any Faith is to be given to that Prophecy of the *Jews* relating to the six thousand Years appointed by God for the Duration of the World, (which Prophecy not a few of the Christian Fathers have come into) there cannot be above five hundred Years from hence to the End of all Things. But to dwell no longer upon this: It is however apparent that the Hypothesis of the more modern Millenaries requires too much Time for the remaining Duration of the World, if we calculate according to St. *John* in his *Revelations*: For according to that prophetick System, many Things remain to be prepared and accomplished before the Kingdom of Christ and the Saints can begin. The Reign of the Saints is not to begin 'till Antichrist is utterly destroyed, and Satan bound: But many Things are to precede the Destruction of Antichrist, which we have not seen accomplished. The Witnesses have not risen nor ascended: The third Part of the City has not fallen: The second Woe is not past; nor the third be-

begun. All which we are told in the eleventh Chapter of the *Revelations*, are to come to pass before the Destruction of Antichrist. Besides, the Phials are not yet poured forth, according to the sixteenth Chapter; nor do we certainly know how many yet remain to be emptied. Lastly, the Things that follow from hence to the twentieth Chapter, where the Kingdom of Christ begins, remain to be put in Execution against Antichrist, to diminish, and at length utterly abolish his Kingdom, and to prepare the Theatre of the Earth for the glorious Appearance of Christ. But how much Time will be required for the Accomplishment of all these in their Order, I hardly dare so much as conjecture. But let that Time be longer or shorter, it must necessarily precede the blessed Age of the Millennium, and make the Age of the World extend so much the farther.

But as in the Accomplishment of these Things, no small Time will elapse; so according to the same Revelation, these Things being accomplished, the End of the World immediately follows; nor is there Time or Space enough left for a thousand Years of Happiness to intervene. As soon as the seventh Trumpet hath sounded, the Time is said to be at Hand, or present,  
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of judging the Dead, and consequently the End of the World; for before that Time, the Dead are not to be judged. In like Manner, the Beast being overcome, is thrown into the *Lake* of burning Sulphur (Chap. xix. 20.) which seems to me to denote the Conflagration of the World, if it is compared with the Visions of *Daniel*, (Chap. vii. 2.) and the Doctrine of *St. Paul. 2 Thess. i. 8. and ii. 8.*

The Epocha of the Kingdom of Christ, and his Saints, is every where in Scripture shewn by this Mark, that it is, joined with the Day of Judgment, or is introduced as soon as that has preceded it. And there seems to be Occasion for no other Proof to convince us, that that Kingdom is not to be expected in this Life, or in the present Age. But let us, if you please, compare a little the Passages concerning this Matter of the Prophets *Daniel* and *St. John*. In the forementioned seventh Chapter of *Daniel*, from Verse the Ninth to the End, the sitting of the Judgment is often repeated, either as previous to the Kingdom of the Saints, or in Conjunction with it, *Ver. 22.* when the antient of Days shall come, Judgment, together with the Kingdoms, shall be deliver'd to the Saints. Then the Judgment being set, *Ver. 26, 27. The*

*Kingdom and Dominion, and the Greatness of the Kingdom under the whole Heaven shall be given to the People of the Saints of the most high.* After the same Manner St. John treads in the Footsteps of Daniel in this Matter, as he is wont to do in others; not only because, being about to paint the Millennium, he first causes the Judgment Seats to be placed in the Twentieth Chapter, Ver. 4. but because before in the Eleventh Chapter, as we observed above, he had connected the Time of judging the Living and the Dead, with the Time of the Reign and Dominion of Christ and the Saints. As soon as the seventh Trumpet had sounded, it was proclaimed with a loud Voice in Heaven. Chap. xi. 15. *The Kingdoms of this World are become the Kingdom of our Lord, and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever.* And immediately afterwards, *the appointed Time is come that the Dead should be judged, and that thou shouldst give Reward to thy Servants the Prophets, and to thy Saints, and to them that fear thy Name.* Ver. 18. *And the Temple of God was opened in Heaven, and there was seen in his Temple the Ark of his Testament, &c.* Ver. 19.

It is manifest, that here the Prophet represents both the Kingdom and the Times of  
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of the Kingdom, as the Antients express themselves: And this Idea answers in both its Parts to the Description of the same Kingdom in the Prophet *Daniel*, both as to the Dominion given to the Saints, and the Time of that Dominion, that is, when the Dead are to be judged; which solemn Time, when it is not to arrive before the End of the World, neither will the blessed Millennium begin before that Time, according to these sacred Oracles; and then as for the last Part of the Description, of the Temple opened, and the Ark of the Covenant conspicuous in it, that is to be understood of the *Schechinah*, which shone upon the Ark of the Covenant in the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, and which will appear still more illustrious in the Kingdom of Christ, and the blessed Millennium of which we are now speaking, as will be explained below.

To these Remarks and Calculations of the Prophets, concerning the Times of the Kingdom, consonant are the Words of Christ, when he joins *ten palingenesian*, and the Judgment Session together, *Matt. xix. 29.* *You, says he, who have followed me, en te palingenesia*, in the Regeneration and Renovation of Things, *when the Son of Man shall sit upon the Throne of his Glory,*

*you also shall sit upon twelve Thrones, judging the twelve Tribes of Israel: And whoever shall leave House, &c.* Here the judicial Pomp, you see is express'd: But that Christ speaks here of his Millennial Kingdom, there are two Things that discover: The first is, that both the forementioned Prophets introduce this Kingdom after the same Manner that 'tis introduced by Christ, as is manifest by what went before. The second is, that Christ marks and points to his Renovation, for the Time and Place in which, Reward and Retribution shall be render'd to the Saints, and to the faithful Servants of Christ; after the same Manner that St. *John* said afterwards, describing the same Time and the same State; the Time is come of judging the Dead, and rendering Reward to thy Servants. Thus the sacred Writers agree in marking out the Time in which the Beginning of the Millennium is deferr'd 'till the End of the World.

But so much concerning the Time of the future Millennium: Let us now return to its Seat, which we have placed in the new Heavens and the new Earth; according to the Visions seen by St. *John*. And after the same Manner the Prophet *Isaiab*, Chap. lxxv. ver. 17, &c. after he had said  
that



that God would make new Heavens, and a new Earth, and a triumphant *Jerusalem*, immediately subjoins to them a new Order of Nature, and a joyful, a pacifick, and a happy State of Mán; by which he represents to us the Kingdom of the Just, and the Felicity of that Kingdom; which I speak the more confidently, and the more confidently thus interpret, when I see *St. Peter* assigning the new Heavens and the new Earth, which the Prophets have promised as a Seat and a Habitation to the Just to dwell in; which cannot be conceived or explained any other Way than of the Kingdom of which we are speaking.

Lastly, Besides these prophetick Expressions; by which the Kingdom of Christ is joined with the new Heavens and the new Earth, expressly or implicitly, the same may be proved by the Time of the coming of Christ to his Kingdom, which the *Millenarians* acknowledge will be at the Beginning of this Kingdom: But Christ will not come to his Kingdom before the End of the World, or before the Time of the Renovation of all Things; and by Consequence the Millennium will not begin before the same Term of Time. *Apokatastasis panton* and *palingenesia* denote the Renovation of the World; but before these two, the coming

coming of Christ will not be. The first of these we are taught by *St. Peter* fully and perspicuously in his Sermon of *Acts* iii. 21. When he says concerning Christ, *Whom the Heavens must receive 'till the Time of the Restitution of all Things, which God hath spoken by the Mouth of all his holy Prophets since the World began.* In like Manner, as to the other, Christ himself has appointed his coming, by which he is to recompense those, who, for his Sake, have suffered Evil in this present Life, *en te palingenesia, in the Regeneration,* *Matt.* xix. 28, 29. which we have shewn above, by the Things that are joined with it, is to be understood of his Kingdom in the World renew'd; when, like a King, or a mighty Conqueror, he shall distribute the Spoils and the Trophies, and the great Rewards which follow the Peace that is at last obtain'd, to his Soldiers and his faithful Servants, who bore all the Heat, and sustain'd all the Fury and the Danger of the War: Nor does this Promise only regard the Enjoyment of Heaven and eternal Glory, when it mentions temporal and external Goods besides everlasting Life. And the Discourse of *St. Paul,* *Heb.* ii. 5, 6. is exactly agreeably to this, when he subjects to Christ, as to its King, the future habitable

ble World, *ten* \* *oikoumenen ten mellousan*, or עולם נִכְוָן, † as the Hebrews express themselves, which they likewise subject to the Messiah.

Lastly, That I may finish this Matter, the sacred Scripture acknowledges no future coming of Christ before his coming to Judgment, or before the End of the World; and therefore the Apostle St. Paul to Timothy joins these three together, the Judgment of the Dead, the Appearance of Christ, and his Kingdom: *I charge thee before God and the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall*

\* *Oikoumene*, according to its Etymology, signifies an inhabited Place, and by the Rules of Syntax, *ge, Earth*, must be understood.

† The Expression *aion mellon*, or עוֹלָם הַבָּא, is either taken largely for the Times of the Messiah in general, or more particularly for the Time of the Messiah's Reign. In this last confin'd and more proper Sense it is distinct both from the present Age and from Eternity, or that Time when Christ is to deliver up all Dominion into the Hands of the Father. And in this proper Sense, *viz.* taken for some Age between this present and Eternity, it is often used in Scripture. Christ, it is said, will reign *en to aioni mellonti*, in the World to come, *Ephes. i. 22, 23. Heb. ii. 5, 6.* But he does not as yet reign in that Sense; neither will he reign in that Sense when he shall have delivered up the Kingdom into the Hands of the Father, *viz.* after the final Resurrection, when all Ages shall be completed. It is plain, therefore, that there must be some intermediate Reign of Christ between these two Periods, and that this is called properly *o aion mellon*, although that Expression, largely taken, may include all the Days of the Messiah.

*shall judge the Quick and the Dead, at his Appearance, and his Kingdom. †*

We have hitherto said thus much by sacred Authority, concerning the Seat of the Millennial Kingdom in the new Heavens, and the new Earth: Besides, the Thing speaks itself, and Reason enforces the same Thing; for to what End should there be a new Earth, if there were no one to dwell upon it? Or why a new habitable World without an Inhabitant? And then the present Earth, or the present Order of Nature being subject to Vanity, or to Corruption, is neither able to bear nor receive the Felicity of that blessed Age. Besides, it would be incongruous to bring Martyrs and Saints back from the Dead to the present Life, and to converse with such Mortals as live now. Let us consider this in a few Words, if you please: As for the first, it is both proved and granted, established and fix'd, *that the natural World will be renew'd*, that is, our Heaven, and our Earth, in a strict and a literal Sense. It is the clear Voice of the sacred Scripture, and

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† And the same Apostle agrees with St. Peter in joining the coming of Christ with the Conflagration of the World. 2 *Thess.* ii. 7, 8. 2 *Peter* iii. 10. Compare these Arguments with some of the like Nature in *Gerrard. tom. ult. p. 139, 140, 141.*

a Belief, that was formerly esteemed to be orthodox, as it is likewise now. Tell me then, I beseech you, with what Design, or to what End is the Earth to be renew'd? or to what Use will be subservient this reviving Paradise? It is acknowledged by all, that the Earth is to be changed for the better; and we have shewn by the Authority of sacred Scripture, to a Form, a Fertility, and a Beauty worthy of Paradise, and of divine Workmanship. Let us go on then; God and Nature produce nothing in vain, much less the entire Orders of Things, and whole habitable Worlds; nor only habitable, but adorned and furnished with all the Benefits of Nature, all the Indulgences of Earth and of Heaven; Seats entirely blessed and beatifick. But since it is absurd to imagine that these blessed Seats, and this most beautiful World, will be produced without any Design, tell me once more, I beseech you, to what Purpose, to what End will they be then produced? If you know any more rightful and more noble than that which we have assigned, freely and kindly impart it; but if none more becoming or more noble is to be found, accept of what I have offered you, and look upon this future World as the true *Land of the Living*, the true *Canaan*, the *Land*

*of Promise*, the Land in which the *Saints shall reign*, the Land in which the *Just shall inhabit*. Lastly, The Land which the Meek and Innocent *shall possess as their proper Inheritance*; they who have the least Portion of all in the Earth which we now see, nor, indeed, is the whole of so much Value, that it is worth the desiring.

For, secondly, The Earth which we now see, and the Heaven which is adapted and appropriated to it, can neither afford; nor so much as receive that natural Felicity which is appointed for the Saints in the Millennial Kingdom of Christ: I say, that *natural Felicity*: For besides the Goods of the Mind, and those holy Affections with which they will be continually ravish'd, external Nature will be golden all, and nothing will remain of those Calamities which afflict the present Life: For neither Poverty, nor Scarcity of the Products of Nature, nor servile and illeberal Labour, nor Wars, and Discords, nor Diseases, nor Cares, nor Troubles, will in the Millennium find any Place. But these Incommodities cannot be avoided, as long as Nature remains what she is: They may, indeed, be diminished by the Assistance of good Government, and by good Laws; but they cannot be wholly abolished, unless the natural Order of

Things

Things at the same Time is alter'd: Nor will this Earth become the more fertile the longer is her Duration, but rather the more dry and more barren; and so much the greater will be the Want of Things that are necessary for Life and Subsistence, and servile Labour and Misery will be augmented; nor will Debates and Discords, either private or publick cease, nor Contentions and the Causes of Wars. Besides, if the same Face and Temperature of the Heavens remain, we shall always endure the same Injuries, and the same Incommodities from the Air, according to the Vicissitudes of Times and Seasons. Lastly, Neither will Diseases be wanting, nor Pains, nor Troubles under which we labour at present. But all these are foreign from the very Idea of the Kingdom of Christ, as 'tis express'd by the Prophets; nor has a State of Life, no more happy than the present, the Face of a Reward, and much less of a Kingdom.

Thirdly, Cause the blessed Martyrs, and the other Saints to rise again from the Dead, and to be conversant among the Mortals of this Age: I cannot see what kind of Life, or what kind of Death you will give to those whom you have thus revived; Would you have them die in a short  
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Time, after the Manner of other Mortals, or will you have them live a thousand Years? If you say the first, such a Scrap of Life certainly did not deserve, that for the Sake of that they should break through the Bars and the friendly Silence of Death; for the Sake, I say, of an earthly Life, among Clouds and Darkness, the Molestations and Incommodities of the present Earth and Heavens. I am sure you believe that the Martyrs were happy in the other World, before their Return or their Descent hither; wherefore, or for what Reason, should they grow tir'd or cloy'd with their own Felicity? Nor, on the other Side, will the present State of Nature, or a State like to the present, admit of Longevity of Life, a Life of a thousand or five hundred Years.

But let us proceed to that which remains: Let the Martyrs and Saints return to this present Earth; what kind of Life, while they are conversant among us, will you give to these new Inhabitants? Shall they marry, as formerly the Sons of God were enamour'd of the Daughters of Men? Shall they be intent on the Procreation of Children, and the regulating their Lives after the Manner of other Mortals? What Possessions they can have here I cannot conceive;



ceive; or what Inheritances they can have recourse to; or by what Law they can claim; all Things have been seiz'd upon long before-hand upon this Earth, and long before-hand possess'd. 'Tis not lawful to force from others their Patrimonies, nor can they succeed to the Possessions and Lands of their Ancestors, who have been dead many Ages since, beyond all Memory of Man; and all the Records of written Law; so that weighing all the Endowments of the Mind, of the Body and Fortune, I can see nothing on any Side worth their while to change the State of Death for that of Life, such as it is at present. But enough of this.

These few Things, drawn from the sacred Writings, and from the Nature of the Thing itself, we propose to be considered by the more modern Millennaries, who, neglecting the Footsteps of the Antients, make too much Haste, and by their immoderate Heat bring the Kingdom of Christ precipitously down upon the Earth, and this present Age, by which they draw upon themselves the Displeasure of Princes and other Rulers of the Earth, and render an innocent and harmless Doctrine invidious; and by such a Proceeding retard the very Thing which they chiefly desire to  
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promote. We do not deny but that by the Process of Time, Mankind will be reformed, at least in Part, even in this Life, and that the Affairs of Christianity will be in a better Condition; that the Tyranny of Antichrist will be weakened, and some Parts of his Empire torn from him. Besides, the Influence of Piety and of Christian Charity will be augmented among good Men; as likewise the Love of Truth, of Justice, of Equity, and every Virtue. And these Things being well secured, People will not plague and persecute each other for the Dissentions. Besides, Science will be augmented, both natural and divine, and particularly the genuine State of the Christian Religion, and the Meaning, the Design, and the Wisdom of that Dispensation will be better known. These, indeed, are Things that are most desired; yet still, to compleat the Felicity of the Kingdom of which we treat, there is a Necessity for a Concurrence of external, and for a new Order of Things; as also a more full and more perfect Light of Truth than we are capable of receiving in this present Life. But we must dispatch what remains to be treated of on this Subject.

These Things being thus expounded and determin'd, it remains that we explain the  
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State of the Millennium. It consists of two Parts, Natural and Intellectual: What will be the future Face, and what the Order of Nature in that Age to come, or in the new Heavens and the new Earth, we have sufficiently declared in the fore-mentioned Theory, and are unwilling to repeat here what has been already said upon that Point: And as to the intellectual Part, that consists chiefly in Contemplation and Devotion, in Exercises like those in which the Angels with Raptures pass Eternity; these likewise we have gone through and described in the same Treatise, according to our Power. There remains only some few Things to be added, to what has been said already, concerning the extraordinary Presence of Christ in his Millennial Kingdom, and the Consummation of the Christian Oeconomy.

But when we mention the Presence of Christ in his Kingdom, we mean not by this, that Christ will descend upon Earth in a human Shape, and be conversant with Men, as he formerly was in *Judea*, nor that he will lead a terrestrial Life, as in the Time of his Flesh; this would be, in some Measure, a second Incarnation; but he will appear afar off in his glorious Body, by Means of a perpetual or constant *Schechinah*,

as he formerly appeared to the Sight in the *Sanctum Sanctorum*; and causing his Seat to descend from the Heaven of Heavens, he will reside in View of the Earth, the visible Deity and the august King. But these Things are farther to be opened and explained.

After St. *John* had delivered the Doctrine of the Millennium, and had represented the new Heavens and the new Earth, as he himself had seen them in his prophetick Vision, he immediately adds, *And I, John, saw the holy City, the new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of Heaven, prepared as a Bride adorned for her Husband. And I heard a great Voice out of Heaven saying, Behold, the Tabernacle of God is with Men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his People; and God himself shall be with them, and be their God: Idou e skene tou Theou meta ton anthropon, kai skenosei met' auton, kai autoi, &c.* These very Words, and the Use of these Words in the sacred Writings, are enough to convince any one that this is to be understood of the *Shechinah*. *Behold the Tabernacle of God is with Men*, says the Voice from Heaven, that is, such a Presence or Habitation of God as there was in the Tabernacle, where the *Shechinah* shewed its Refulgency. And then

then he adds, to the same Purpose, *Skenosei met' auton o Theos, God will place his Tabernacle among them.* Lastly, that it may be the more manifest, that the Habitation of God with the Saints in his Millennial Kingdom, as he dwelt formerly with the People of *Israel* in the Sanctuary, is pointed at here, the Prophet adds, *Kai autoi laoi auton esontai, kai autos o Theos estai met' autou, Theos auton.* Which are the same Words, if you please to consult them, with which God promised that he would dwell with the *Israelites* in the Congregation and in the Sanctuary, *Exod. xxix. 42, 43, 44, 45, 46. Levit. xxvi. 11, 12.*

Besides, St. *John* used the same Manner of speaking in his Gospel, when he had a Mind to paint the Habitation of God in human Flesh, *John i. 14. O logos sarx egeneto kai eskenosen en emin, kai etheasametha ten doxan autou, doxan os monogenous para Patros. The Word was made Flesh, and dwelt among us, and we beheld his Glory, the Glory as of the only begotten of his Father.* We meet with the same Expression once more in the *Revelations*; when the Felicity and the Privileges are enumerated of the Palm-bearing Multitude; who are the same with the Saints of the Millennium: For among

other Things, it is said, *O kathemenos epi tou thronou, he that sits upon the Throne,* that is, Christ, *skenosei ep' autous,* that is, *shall dwell among them,* or shall fix his Tabernacle among them, which answers fully to our Explication of the *Shechinah* in the Kingdom of Christ. And in the same Manner *Ezekiel*, setting forth the Beatitude of the Kingdom of which we speak, Places in it the Sanctuary, or the Seat of God as in the Sanctuary. I will add one Passage more to all these, from the same prophetick Oracles; where the Prophet treats of the Millennium, and where, at the same Time, Mention is made of the Temple's being open, and the Ark of the Covenant being seen in it, which *Shechinah* cover'd with its Effulgency. In the Eleventh Chapter of the *Revelations* Ver. 15. after that the Trumpet of the seventh Angel had sounded, the Kingdom of Christ and the Saints is described: And it is said, among other Things, *the Temple of God was opened in the Heavens, and there was seen in his Temple the Ark of his Testament;* that is, if I rightly interpret it, the Heavens being open'd, *Schechinah* was seen, or the Glory of Christ, which covered the Ark of the Covenant in the Sanctuary; as *Stephen*, the first of Martyrs, the Heavens being open'd,

open'd, saw the Glory of God, and the Son of Man at the Right Hand of God. And hither is to be referred, if I am not mistaken, the celebrated Prediction of *Jeremiah* the Prophet, Chap. iii. 16, 17, &c. when the *New-Jerusalem*, and not the Ark of the Covenant, shall be the Throne of *Jehovah*.

By these prophetick Evidences and Discoveries, it is, in my Opinion, sufficiently manifest, that in the Age to come, and in the Kingdom of Christ, there will be some visible and solemn Presence of the Deity which we nominate *Schechinah*. But we must farther observe, that what the *Hebrews* call *Schechinah*, is called in the *Greek*, as well that of the *New Testament*, as that of the *seventy doxa*, Glory, or *doxa tou Theou, the Glory of God*, as is sufficiently known, and has been proved by divers Examples.\* And the same Expression *St. John* uses, and says, that he saw the Glory of God, *ten doxan tou Theou*, residing on that holy *Jerusalem* which descended from Heaven, *Ver. 10, and 11*. The Angel shew'd him *ten agian Jerousalem kataba-*  
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*inou-*

\* See *Exod.* xxiv. 16, 17, and xxxiii. 18. and xl. 34, 35. *1 Kings* viii. 11. *1 Sam.* iv. 21, 22. *Isa.* vi. *Hab-*  
*back.* iii. 3, 4. *John* i. 14, and xii. 47, 55. *Heb.* ix. 5.  
*Rom.* ix. 4.

*inoufan ek tou ouranou apo tou Theou, exoufan ten Doxan Tou Theou.* And then, in what follows, he illustrates this City, and paints it with all the most glorious, and the most refulgent Colours of Light. And he eloquently asserts, that they who enjoy the Millennium shall behold the Face of God.

Thus you see the Prophet signified, in a twofold Manner and Style, that there would be seen hereafter in the *New Jerusalem*, in the Kingdom of Christ and his Saints, the divine *Schechinah*. But perhaps, you will ask me what the *Schechinah* is, when both here and in other Writers, there is such frequent Mention of it, who yet, through their own Neglect, or the Difficulty of the Thing do not clearly explain what is meant by the Word: Nor indeed do I undertake to do it here, or pretend to define it more accurately than others have done before me. But if Pardon and Place may be allowed for a little Digression, I shall open the State of the Question, that it may be less difficult to others either to quite clear up the Point, or at least to find where the Difficulty lies.

The Word **שכינה** is not, as far as I know, to be found in the *Hebrew Bible*. We meet with it often in the *Targum*, and in the Writings of the Rabbins. It is de-



derived, as is very well known, from **יָדוּ**, to dwell, or to sojourn, and signifies, in the common Acceptation, to dwell, or to sojourn. But that it came to be made use of to signify peculiarly the divine Presence, or the divine Majesty, proceeded from the Use of the same Word **יָדוּ**, in the Writings of *Moses*, when the singular Presence of God is expressed either in Mount *Sinai*, or in the Tabernacle, or any other Place, *Exod.* xxiv. 15, 16. and *Chap.* xxv. 8. and *Chap.* xxix. 45, 46. and *Chap.* xl. 35. and *Deut.* xxxiii. 16.

So much for the Word; but what is the Thing you ask: *Schechinah* in a large Extent, is us'd to signify any remarkable Effect of the divine Presence; but in a more confin'd Signification, 'tis us'd to express the divine Presence under some Appearance or visible Sign; and in the strictest Sense of all, to signify the majestick Presence of God, in some resplendent, fiery, or flaming Matter, as in the fiery Bush he appear'd to *Moses*, (*Exod.* iii. 2. *Deut.* xxxiii. 16.) and to the *Israelites* in the Wilderness in the Pillar of Fire, or the cloudy Pillar, (*Exod.* xiii. 21, 22. *Num.* xiv. 14.) Upon Mount *Sinai*, (*Exod.* xix. 18. and xxiv. 15, 16, 17, &c. xxxiii. 18, 21, and *Deut.* xxxiii. 2.) Before the Tabernacle,

bernacle, *Exod.* xxv. 8. and xl. 34, 35. *Lev.* xvi. 2. *Num.* ix. 15. and in the *Sanctum Sanctorum* after the Temple was built, *1 Kings* viii. 10; *II. 2 Chron.* vii.

And it is such a majestick *Schechinah*\*, that we here understand, and that we expect in that Age to come. And it consists, as you see, of two Parts, the Material and the Spiritual. The first is wont to be in some Measure lucid, or of a Colour whitish; as the Light itself, Fire, Æther, Cloud, or whitish Smoak. And this † lucid Substance is believed by *Abarbinele*, to be always one and the same, that is to say, that very primogenial Light which God created in the Beginning, that very Light he uses as a Vehicle, whenever he would render himself conspicuous. But however, that is, the principal Query is concerning the other Part, *viz.* what that spiritual Substance is, that lies under that subtle and refulgent Matter. That best and most learned Man, *Joseph Mede*, is of Opinion, that the Angels were always under the *Schechinah*; and that there was no other Presence or divine Epiphany, but the Angelical only, under the Name of God; that otherwise  
 God

\* See a Passage about the *Schechinah* in *Whitby de Deit. Christ.* p. 57.

† The Bishop of *Ely* takes Notice of this, p. 9.

God himself is said to be every where equally present; but that he is said to be especially present where the angelical Guard appears. I can verily believe that an angelick Guard is not wanting to the *Schechinah*, but a Guard, over which some very illustrious Commander of surpassing Brightness presides.

*Justin Martyr*, \* *Irenæus* †, *Tertulian* †, and several other Fathers were of Opinion, *ton logon*, that the Word was under the *Schechinah*; in all the Appearances that are mentioned in the antient Covenant. The *Jews* in general, and of the Christian Fa-

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\* In *Apolog.* 2. p. 95, 96. and in *Dialog. cum Tryphon.* p. 341, 342. and p. 356, 357. and frequently in other Places.

† *Lib.* iv. c. 17, 23, 37.

† *Advers. Judæos*, c. 9. *de Carne Christi*, c. 6. *Advers. Marcion.* l. ii. c. 27. and *ad Praxeam.* c. 14. and following. *Theoph. Antioch.* p. 99, 100. *Euseb. Demonstr. Evang.* l. v. c. 9. and following, where he treats of it very largely; and *Hist. Eccles.* l. i. c. 2. *Cyril. Hieros. Catech.* c. 10. Besides these, you may consult *Novatian de Trin.* c. 25. and following. *Origen*, l. vi. *cont. Cels.* *Basil advers. Eunom.* *Chrysost.* in *Gen. Hom.* 41, 42, 48. and in *Act. Hom.* 16. *Theodore* in *Gen. Quæst.* 92. in *Exod. quæst.* 5. *Hilar. de Trinit.* 4, 5, 12. *Ambros. de Fide ad Gratian.* l. i. c. 5. and *de Fide contra Arain.* c. ult. *Prudent.* in *Apotheosi contra Patripass.* *Sulp. sever. Hist. Sacr.* l. i. *Cassian.* l. vii. *de incarn.* c. 9. *Leon. Epist.* 13. *Isidor. Hispal. de Nativ. Dom.* c. i. and many others.

In *Cortholt. Not.* in *Just.* p. 34. and in *Suicer. voc. angelos*, and in *Bull, Sec.* i. c. 1.

Fathers some, are of Opinion, that the Soul of the Messiah pre-existed long before the Time of his Incarnation, nay, before the very Original of the *Jewish* Nation, before the Law, nay, and existed through the whole Dispensation of the Law and the Prophets. Now, if they suppose that his Soul, through the whole Series of that Time, was in Conjunction with the Word, it would not be inconsistent to suppose farther, that in Conjunction with the same Word, it constituted the *Schechinah* of the Patriarchs and the Prophets, and that those Motions from Heaven to Earth, and those Returns from Earth to Heaven, and those Apparitions sometimes in a human Shape, and sometimes in another, are to be attributed to the Messiah; and that neither these, nor any thing like them, is consistent with meer Divinity.

For otherwise, I can hardly understand either *Justin Martyr* †, or any of the fore-mentioned Fathers, who pretend to  
 prove

† *Justin Martyr* in his *Dial. cum Tryphon* often disputes against all local Motion, or Apparition, or Visibility of God the Father; and p. 355, 356. he says, that when the Scripture tells us that God ascended up from *Abraham*, or, that the Lord talked with *Moses*, that the Lord descended to see the Tower which the Sons of Men built, or when it says, that God shut up the Ark of *Noah*, *me egeisthe auton*

prove by the Invisibilty of God the Father, and his Infinity and Omnipresence, that God the Father never appeared, never ascended or descended, and never in any wise changed his Place. I say, I cannot see how these Arguments, drawn from the Invisibilty and the Omnipresence of God, are of more Validity for God the Father, than for God the Son; unless you suppose the Soul of the Messiah to have pre-existed, and to have been united to the Word before his Incarnation; and that all these Things were performed by that together with the Angels: For otherwise *o logos*, the Word simply taken, and united to no Creature,

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*ton agenneton Theon katabebeknai, &c.* you must not think that the unbegotten God either ascended or descended any whither; for the ineffable Father, and Lord of the Universe, does not move into any Place, nor does he walk about, he does not sleep, nor arise from Sleep.—He is not moveable, nor to be comprehended by any one Place, no, not by the World itself; as he existed before the World was built. How then can he speak to any one, or be seen by any one, or appear in the least Part of the Earth? You have Passages like this in the other Fathers above-mentioned.

In the same Manner 'as the Son return'd to the Father out of this World, so he proceeded from the Father: But his Return was local, and \*\*\* his Ascension from this Earth into Heaven was local. *John* xiii. 1. and vi. 63. and xvi. 28. The Person of Christ ascended, and therefore the Person of Christ descended. Either his Descent or Ascent were real and local, or only Apparitions, sometimes in Heaven, and sometimes on Earth.

ture, human and angelical, is invisible and omnipresent as much as God the Father.\*

But that we may return to our Subject. Let it be as it may, with Regard to the Phænomena of the *Old Testament*, before the Incarnation of God (of which, perhaps, we shall find Occasion to treat in another Place, ) the *Schechinah*, of which we are speaking here, which will shine forth in that Age to come, in the Kingdom of Christ and his Saints, is Christ himself in his glorious Body, which is spoke openly enough by the Prophet, *Rev. xxi. 23. And the City had no need of the Sun, neither of the Moon to shine in it: For the Glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb is the Light thereof. Luke ix. 32.* Christ gave a Specimen of this Glory upon Earth, while he was yet cloathed in Flesh, in this Transfiguration; and afterwards in Heaven, when he shewed himself to *St. Stephen* and *Saul*. But that Appearance, that *Schechinah* will be the most illustrious, when Christ shall descend in Flames of Fire, attended with Millions of Angels, at the End and Destruction of this World: And the Word *Glory*, or the *Glory of God*, is wont almost  
always

\* Nor is the Answer of *Bull* sufficient here; see it, *Ser. iv. c. 3. p. 462, &c.*

always to be joined together with the coming of Christ, which we observed above, answers to *Schechinah*,\* and the majestic Presence of God. And St. *John* has in more than one Manner declar'd to us, that this Glory, and this divine Presence, will have its Seat in the new Heavens and the new Earth, as we observed above.

But let us observe farther, that the sacred Writers, in representing the kingly Glory and the Majesty of Christ, first set before us his Person; then his Attendance, or his Guards; then his Seat and the royal City; and lastly, the Throne of the Prince. The Glory of Christ's Presence is more than once described in the *Revelations*, and always in a lucid or flaming Form, *Chap. i. ver. 13, &c.* The Prophet speaking of the Son of Man, says, *His Head and his Hair were white like Wool, as white as Snow; and his Eyes were as a Flame of Fire; and his Feet like unto fine Brass, as if they burned in a Furnace; and his Voice as the sound of many Waters; and his Countenance was as the Sun, when he shineth in all his Strength.* What can be stronger than these, what

\* *Schechinah* relates neither to the Father, nor to the Holy Ghost; therefore it must to the Son, or *logos*; since it implies in it something divine, and not merely angelical. See *Grot. de Relig. Christ.* l. v. p. 369. Sect. iii.

what more bright and illustrious? Unless, perhaps, that Description which follows in the fourth Chapter, where the King, sitting upon his Throne, *was to look upon like a Jasper, and a Sardine Stone; and there was a Rainbow round about the Throne in Sight like to an Emerald.* Then, as to the Attendance of Christ, it will consist of Angels of Light; as is abundantly expressed in the sacred Writings, which we quoted before. Then, as to what regards the Royal City, the City of the great King, the Holy *Jerusalem*, that descended from Heaven, every one knows that its Glory is painted by the Prophet in the twentieth first Chapter, by every Sort of glittering Jewels, and the most refulgent Colours of Light, *Ver. 10, 11, 18, 19, 20, 21.* yet no Man ever here understood simply and literally the Stones themselves, whose Names the Prophet enumerates; yet it seems but just that it should be something visible and illustrious that is painted by these shining Jewels: He who paints the Rainbow in Drops of Water, and upon the rising, or setting Sun adorns the Clouds with so much Beauty, and with so many Colours, how much is it in his Power, and how easy for him, to excite and express in his own ætherial Body, or the adjacent Heav-

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ven, all the various Sorts of Light, and all the diversify'd Glory, above all the Splendor and the borrowed Lights of Jewels of any Kind, or any other terrestrial Matter, be it ever so purged or fine.

Nor does it seem to me to be at all new, or foreign from the Use of sacred Writers, to paint *Schechinah* by the Imagery of Jewels. The Breast-plate of the high Priest, where was *Urim* and *Thummim*, and Answers divine, was composed by the Command of God himself, of several Kinds and Orders of Jewels, *Exod.* xxviii 15, 16, &c. And when God appeared upon Mount *Sinai*, he is said to have stood upon a Pavement of Saphire, surrounded with celestial Brightness, *Exod.* xxiv. 10. To these you may add, if you please, that when the future Glory of the Church is described by the Prophet *Isaiab*, (*Chap.* liv. 11, 12,) and Paradise by *Ezekiel* (*Chap.* xxviii. 13:) the Representation in both Places is made by Jewels and precious Stones, as in this Idea of St. *John* in his *Revelations*.

But to proceed: Though by these Proofs and Examples it is more than probable, that *Schechinah* belongs to the Millennium State, and to the holy City, yet is it difficult to go through the other Things which relate

late to it, or to form any Hypothesis, in which so many and such different Qualities and Characters may meet and concur, as are to be found in the two last Chapters of this wonderful Prophecy; and this likewise augments the Difficulty, which, and how many of these Characters are to be interpreted literally, and which figuratively, and comparatively. 'Tis the common Opinion, that the Christian Church is represented triumphant in the Idea of this glorious City.\* And that principally for this Reason; because the Names of the twelve Apostles are said to be inscribed upon its Foundation, *Ver. 14.* and upon its Gates the Names of the twelve Tribes of *Israel*, *Ver. 12.* By which Title and Name, and true People of God is wont to be described in the *Revelations*. Lastly, this City is elegantly called by the Angel, *Sponsa agni, the Bride of the Lamb*, *Ver. 9.* and *10.*

But when they assert, that the Church triumphant is here represented, my Opinion is, that we ought to understand the Church triumphant upon Earth, or in the new Heavens and the new Earth, which the Prophet saw but a little before: And he saw

\* The Prophet *David* likewise seems to have an Eye to this future State, in *Psalms*. xvii. 15. see *D. Ten.* p. 366.

ſaw likewise this holy City descending from Heaven, *Ver.* 2, and 10. that is a City conſiſting of thoſe Saints who were rais'd up upon the firſt Reſurrection. Nor is there, ſtrictly and properly ſpeaking, any triumphant Church in the Heavens, either before or after the Reſurrection. Before the Reſurrection, we have no Evidence that the Saints are in a viſible State, or a Society viſible: But that their Souls are reſoſited with God, and that they live alone to him. But after the Reſurrection, I mean the univerſal Reſurrection, when Chriſt ſhall have delivered his Kingdom into the Hands of his Father, there will be no farther any Form or Face of a Church, but God will be all in all. Nor is it any juſt Objection to this Opinion, that that City is called the celeftial or the upper *Jeruſalem*; for ſo it is called, becauſe it will deſcend from Heaven, or will come from above, Chriſt deſcending together with it, as the Prophet more than once declares; and that it will conſiſt of thoſe who have their Share in the firſt Reſurrection.

That illuſtrious Society, which is deſcribed by St. *Paul* in his Epistle to the *Hebrews*, though it ſuits ſomething better with the Chriſtian Diſpenſation, than with  
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that of the Law; yet can it be justly and properly apply'd to no Militant Church: For when it is called by him *the City of God*, and *the celestial Jerufalem*, we must necessarily conclude it to be the same with that which is mentioned and described by St. *John*, though some Things of another Order, according to the Manner of that Author, seem to be mingled with it. Certainly they who have their Part in the first Resurrection, constitute *panegurin kai ekklesian prototogon en ouranois apogegrammenon*, *the Church and the Congregation of the First-born of those whose Names are writ in Heaven*: And they are not yet *dikaioi teteleiomanoi*, *perfectly just* in every Sense and Manner; yet are they initiated into celestial Life, the Candidates of Eternity, and the very next Heirs to Heaven and consummate Glory.\* And

\* *A Digression concerning the State of the Jews in the Millennium, or the future Kingdom of the Messiah.*

And here occurs a celebrated Question, What Place the *Jews* will have in the Kingdom of the Messiah? It must be own'd, that the Promises were first made to the *Jews*, as well of the Messiah, as of the Messiah's Kingdom; and that their *Canaan*, or Land of Promise, was a Type of the new Land, and of the Kingdom of Christ himself. And St. *Paul* has told us, that the Seed of *Abraham* should be Heirs of the World, *viz.* of the World to come; for they are not so of the present. Besides, as Christ was upon coming into the World, the Angel says to *Mary*, *The Lord God shall give unto him the Throne of his Father David.*

And

And from thence we are brought to what we believed ought in the second Place to be observ'd concerning the Kingdom of Christ and his Saints, *viz.* That in that Kingdom, there will be, with Regard to this Earth, a *Consummation of the Christian Religion*, and of divine Providence.

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*And he shall reign over the House of Jacob for ever, and of his Kingdom there shall be no End, Luke i. 32, 33.* But this Kingdom at present is not in his, but in Mahomet's Possession. Add to this, the Prophets over and over promise the *Jews* a Restoration; not only from the *Babylonish* Captivity, but a new Glory, and a happy Estate, such as they never enjoyed before.

The Prophet *Isaiah* too, *Chap. lxxv. 17, &c. lxxvi. 22.* describes a new Earth and new Heavens, in which they were to enjoy all this Happiness. And other Prophets under different Characters, have marked out this same State.

And Lastly, *St. John* in his *Revelations*, always mentions the *Jews*, either plainly or indirectly, whenever he is describing the Kingdom of Christ, or his future Glory. From their Conversion he begins his Prophecy; *Behold he cometh with the Clouds, and every Eye shall see him, and they also which pierc'd him; and all the Kingdoms of the Earth shall wail before him.* Then when the Throne of Christ is describ'd, *Chap. iv. 4.* and the four and twenty Elders standing, the *Jews* are joined there with the Christians, *i. e.* twelve Apostles with twelve Patriarchs, or Heads of Tribes, of the *Jews*. As afterwards, the Foundation of the new *Jerusalem* are the holy Apostles, but on the Gates are wrote the Names of the twelve Tribes of *Israel*. Likewise in the eighth Chapter when the Servants of God are sign'd, the Tribes of *Israel* are sign'd first, and afterwards an innumerable Multitude of all Nations, Tribes, People, and Languages; and in

*Chap.*

The Christian Religion, indeed, will remain in the new Heavens and the new Earth, under Christ its Head; but exceedingly alter'd, as well with Regard to external Worship, as the Sanctity of the Souls of its Subjects. And that which ought to out-shine either, there will be a more clear, a more

*Chap. xiv. 1.* those 144000 are numbered again standing in Mount *Sion* with the Lamb.

Add to this, when at the seventh Trumpet the Kingdom of Christ was come, the four and twenty Elders worship before him that sits upon the Throne, and say, *That the Time of the Dead is come, that they should be judg'd and that thou shouldst give Reward unto thy Servants the Prophets, and to the Saints, and them that fear thy Name, Small and Great; and shouldst destroy them which destroy the Earth.* Then the Temple of God was open'd in Heaven, and there was seen in the Temple the Ark of his Testament. The Ark of the Testament is the Monument of the Covenant entered into with *Abraham* and the *Jews*, which God had promised he would remember for ever, as an everlasting Covenant that was to endure for ever. And that by this Token Christ testifies that he did not forget his Covenant and antient People, but that he would bring them with him to be Partakers of his Kingdom, \* \* \* \* Not unlike to this, in the fifteenth Chapter, before the Phials of his Wrath were poured out, when the Saints had sung the Song of *Moses*, and the Song of the Lamb, the Temple of the Tabernacle of Testimony was opened in Heaven, to signify the divine Presence, as formerly at the going out of *Egypt*, and afterwards in the Tabernacle, where the Tables of the Law were kept; and so the *Jews* fall in with Christians, and both make up one Church.

Again, in the last Chapter of this Prophecy we find many Passages in Favour of the *Jews*. In the eighteenth *Chap.*

more full, and a more distinct Revelation of the Truth, than what we enjoy in this present Life. Religion, together with Mankind, makes a gradual Progress to Purity and Perfection, and the Religion of *Nature* is the Foundation of every Religion that is instituted, from which all particular

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*Chap. Ver. 20.* the Apostles are joined with the Prophets triumphing with the Lamb over the Beast, and praising God: And in the seventh Verse of the following Chapter a Bride is prepared for the Lamb, cloathed with the Righteousness of the Saints. I am not ignorant that this Wife of the Lamb's is held, by some, to be the Christian Church only, separate from the *Jewish*, when in *Constantine's* Time, the *Roman* Empire became Christian. But this is the Opinion of those who did not expect or believe any thing of the Conversion of the *Jews*; an Opinion contrary to the express Words of Christ and *St. Paul*, and of many of the Prophets; contrary to the Design and Tenour of the *Apocalypse*, which terminates in the Union of the *Jewish* and Christian Churches in the Kingdom of Christ; that Christ may be the Shepherd of both Flocks, King of both People; that the *Gentiles* and *Jews* may be collected under one Head, united into one Body.

Lastly, when this earthly Dispensation arrives to its Perfection, when all Things shall be restored, and Nature renewed, new Heavens and a new Earth, the new *Jerusalem* shall descend from Heaven, deck'd and prepared as a Bride for her Husband, *Chap. xxi. 2.* This is the same Bride as was mentioned before; and when it is called the *New Jerusalem*, the *Holy City*, it puts us in Mind of the *Jews*, and of the *Old Jerusalem*, their Habitation. Although what follows in this and the last Chapter is represented to us under the same Name and Manner of speaking, yet we must not deny this People their Share in

Dispensations that are by divine Appointment, have their Source, and to which they flow back and return again, as Rivers do into the Sea.

Divine Providence seems to have instituted three particular religious Oeconomies for the governing and perfecting Mankind:  
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in it. There can be no Dispute as to Precedency; nor should we be too positive in applying that which follows, however, it may seem to belong to that People; for it is too obscure. From what is said I think it appears sufficiently plain, that all, both *Jews* and *Gentiles*, will be collected into one Body under Christ the Head, when his glorious universal Kingdom shall appear compleat upon Earth.

This at least we may observe, that those Things that are spoken of the Tabernacle of God, or the Habitation of God among Men, were formerly promised to the *Jews* almost in the very same Terms. See *Ezek.* xxxvii. 26, 27, 28. *Zeph.* ii. 10. *Isa.* xii. 6. When therefore we read in the Writings of a Christian Prophet, that these Promises are now accomplished, can we with any Colour of Justice deprive those of a Share in such Glories, to whom they were first of all directed?

The Time of this Restoration of the *Jews* will be at the Sabbatism, at their Resurrection from the Dead, and so, after the Renovation of the Heavens and the Earth; or in the Millennial Reign of Christ, in the World to come. And therefore it is foretold and spoken of by the Prophets as a Resurrection, *Isa.* xxvi. 19, 20, 21. *Ezek.* xxxvii. 12. *Hos.* xiii. 14. *Rom.* xi. 26, 27, &c. *1 Cor.* xv. 54. And that of *Daniel* xii. 1, 2. regards the *Jews* in a special Manner, and *Michael*, the Great Prince, is Christ.

The *Jews* by their Sins, and the Abuse of their Law, have by the just Judgments of God, made Way for the  
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The First of which was an Oeconomy of Sense, and of external Works, with but a short sighted Knowledge of Things divine. The Second was an Oeconomy of Affections instituted for an internal Life, and if I may so express myself, for a sacred Enthusiasm, with a much greater Light

Christians; and Christians by their Vices, and the Abuse of their Law, shall in their Turn give Place again to the *Jews*. Having alternately abused the Goodness of God, and alternately shall succeed one another.

After these Remarks, it will be thought highly just, that the *Jews* should have no small Share in the Millennial Kingdom of Christ. But perhaps there may be two or three Objections made to this Opinion. First, that the Millennium seems to be calculated entirely for Christians, or those [ *Revel. xx. 4.* ] *that were beheaded for the Witness of Jesus, and for the Word of God, and which have not worship'd the Beast, neither his Image, neither receiv'd, &c. and they shall live with Christ a thousand Years.* Then it is said, that in the holy *Jerusalem* to come, *there shall be no Temple therein, Rev. xxi. 22.* which points out the *Jewish* Worship. To the first I answer, that the *Jews* are no where excluded from this Millennium, any more than Christians. For the Passages quoted above, speak plainly, that the former ought to have a Place there, and that none of the lowest. But as the Series of St. *John's* Prophecies run mostly upon the Reign of Antichrist, and his Fall, it was natural when that was compleated, to make mention chiefly of the Triumph of Christians upon it, as it was they that opposed his Kingdom, and are placed all along in the Prophecy as his Adversaries; when the Enemy is defeated, they receive the Honours of the Victory, who personally sustained the Battle, altho' others share with them the Fruits and Advantages of it.

Light and Knowledge of Things divine, yet a Light and Knowledge imperfect and imcompleat. The Third in the Millenian Kingdom of Christ, will comprehend all the three, and will be an Oeconomy of Sense, of Affection, and of Reason, with as clear, and as full a Knowledge and Insight

To the second I answer, That it is truly said there will be no Temple in the future Kingdom of Christ, nor any external *Judaical* Worship. For we suppose that at that Time all Rites, as well Christian as *Jewish*, will be abolished: All and every one of both Denominations shall acknowledge Jesus for the Messiah, and shall also worship God with a pure Heart, and a pure Mind, according to that which is most holy, universal, and perpetual in both Laws. Nor shall bloody Sacrifices of any Kind have Place there, but Sacrifices only of Praise and Thanksgiving; nor shall Circumcision or Uncircumcision avail any Thing, but a new Creature, rectify'd according to the Image of God.

So that notwithstanding these Objections, we must allow the *Israelites* their Share in the future *Canaan*, their Restoration, and promised Rest. For so it is that the Apostle to the *Hebrews* argues, *that there still remaineth a Sabbath for the People of God.* By which Title he particularly marks out the *Israelites*, a People belonging to God in a peculiar Manner, and in Covenant with him. Now this Sabbath, although it may in some Respects be apply'd to the Gospel State, yet the *Jews*, we see, are not come to the Enjoyment of that Rest; and since this Sabbath ought to be the Antitype corresponding to those Types of it, the Septennial Sabbaths of the Land of *Canaan*, the *Jews* may reasonably expect another more glorious Sabbatical Rest, another happier *Canaan*; that so the Antitype may more exactly answer to its proper Type.

fight into Things divine, as can be had on this Side Heaven. Rites, and Ceremonies, and Shadows of Things will vanish: Virtue, pure Virtue, and Truth divine, will like the liquid Light, o'erflow the whole Globe of Earth. Christ said to the *Jews*, (*Luke vii. 28.*) *Among those that are born of Women, there is not a greater Prophet than John the Baptist, but he that is least in the Kingdom of Heaven, is greater than he,*

It must be acknowledg'd, that the Apoca'lypse does chiefly run upon the Millennium, and regards the *Jews* above all others, as though the Millennium belong'd to them solely. 'Tis true, it does in a great Measure belong to them, but not to them alone, as is plain *Revel. vii. 9,* and *xx. 4.*

But that many Places, and indeed the main End and Design of that Prophecy, respects the *Jews*, is apparent enough to any Reader. See likewise *Holmes, Vol. ii. p. 125, 126, &c.*

Christ is the Creator of both Worlds, the Old and the new one that is to be. He is said to be the Creator of the Old World in many Places, *Psal. cii. John i. 3, 10. Col. i. 17. Heb. i. 10.*

As to the Word that is to be, the Messiah is called, *Pater tou aionos mellontos, the Father of the World to come, Isa. ix. 6.* From whence the Author to the *Hebrews, Chap. ii. 5.* says, that the *Oikoumenen ten Mellousan, the World to come,* is in a peculiar Manner subject to him. The *Jews* call it **אֵלֶּמֶהוּנָה**, which regards the World, as well the natural as moral. It is worth enquiring whether they make the Messiah the Author of this likewise.

I do not remember that the Messiah is any where in Scripture said to be the Author of the new Heaven, and the new Earth.

*he, viz.* with Regard to the Extent of their Science, to their Knowledge of Things divine, and to their worshipping their God in Spirit and Truth. O Days deserving to be eternally celebrated! O truly golden Age! O truly blissful Life! Let this thy Kingdom come, O Lord; and as thy Will is done in Heaven, let it be done on Earth. Thou gavest thy Promise that thou wouldest come quickly, and wouldest renew all Things: *Revel.* xxi. xxii. Why does our God stay? What hinders the Motion of the Chariot? What stops the Course of its Wheels? *Let all thy Enemies perish, O Lord; but let those who love thee, be like the Sun, when he mounts the Skies, in all his Strength, and in all his Glory.*

Thus have we with Brevity treated of the State of the Millennium. They who desire to see the Rest that relates to it, may find it in the fore-mentioned Theory. At the End of this Millennium there will follow the last Judgment and the second Resurrection; and then comes the Consummation of all Things. I must confess there is no Mention made in the sacred Writings expressly and nominally, either of a second Resurrection, or a second Judgment. But each of them is hinted at and implied in that Vision of St. *John*, which gives

gives us a View of the Millennium; that one will be at the Beginning, and the other at the End of it. *Revel. xx. 4, 5, &c.* And as for the Resurrection, in other Places of the sacred Writings, sometimes Regard is had to the First, and sometimes to the Second, without distinguishing accurately. *St. Paul* in his Epistle to the *Corinthians*, treats chiefly, if not solely, of the last Resurrection as was before observed: But *Christ* in *St. Luke* seems to point at the first, which he calls *the Resurrection of the Just*, not of all, but of the Just separately: Such as is the first Resurrection, in which the Wicked are to have no Part, (*Revel. xx. 4, 5*, which compare with *Psal. i. 5*.) which will be the Time of the first Retribution. And this Resurrection of the Just, answers to *te palingenesia*, *the Regeneration*, in which likewise, *Christ* promises the Reward to his Saints, *Matt. xix. 28, 29*. Lastly, in the Second and last Resurrection, the Glory of the Just will find its Accomplishment, when Mortality being swallowed up of Life, and their terrestrial Being converted into celestial and glorious Bodies, they shall be really equal, and like to the Angels.

This is the End of human Affairs, and this their Consummation. But now some

may enquire concerning the Earth, what will become of that, when its Inhabitants all have left it? Concerning this Matter; and others that have Relation to it, we have, in the *Theory of the Earth*, given our Conjectures. But since these are doubtful and problematical Points, and, as it were, out of the Compass of the Christian Doctrine, we did not think it proper to insert any Thing of them here. And so much for these Matters.

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## C H A P. X.

*Of Heaven and Hell: What the Heaven of the Christians is, and how it may be said to be local: What Hell is; whether there is, or will be any subterranean, or any other local, corporeal, and external Hell, before the Day of Judgment, and Conflagration of the World. Of the Punishments of Hell; whether they are to be looked upon as finite or infinite, or indefinite.*

**H**AVING done with all human Things upon Earth; next Heaven and Hell are to be considered. By the Word *Heaven*, the Christians understand a State and Place

Place of future Felicity, or Seats of beatified Souls: And these Seats they place in a sublime Station, remote from Earth, and high in the Starry Regions, and call them Heaven. To this Point there is an Agreement between the Christian Doctrine, and the Opinions of the Wisest among the Heathens, and the Sentiments of their Philosophers, who sent back those Souls that had behaved well upon Earth, to that Heaven, from which they at first descended. But as for the Poets, a Generation audacious and lawless, and who represent and misrepresent the Doctrines of the Antients according to their Pleasure, and shew the Truth in Disguise and Masquerade, they place their Elysian Fields, their Seats of the Blessed, in I know not what Lands, and fortunate Islands; or, which is yet more incongruous, under Ground, and in subterranean Regions. Thus grossly does *Virgil* philosophize, to the Capacity and Taste of the People; and that, perhaps, from an obscure or corrupt Sort of Knowledge, either of the antient or future Paradise. 'Tis true, indeed, the Saints will enjoy a happy Life in that new Earth, and that second Paradise: But the Question is not here concerning that intermediate Happiness, but the supreme Beatitude and

Seat of the Saints, after the last Resurrection, at the End of the Millennium, when putting on their celestial Bodies, and changing their Seats, they shall enjoy a consummate Glory, and an inconceivable Felicity.

That these Seats are celestial, or super-celestial, all Christians agree; I say, or *supercelestial*; for the Scholaſtick Doctors assert, that a certain *Empyrean*, or fiery Heaven, superior to all the rest, will be the Habitation of the Saints, and all that will be eternally happy. But besides, that no such fiery Heaven appears to us, by the Help either of Sense or Reason, except the Bodies of the Sun, and the fixed Stars; there is no such Order of the Heavens, and no such System of the World as these Doctors imagine; for they imagine that all the Heavens are concentrical, or that they belong to one and the same Centre, and are involved and wrapt up in each other, like the Coats of an Onion, which is in some Measure true of the Planetary Orbs, but by no Means of the fix'd Stars: For neither are they all of them fixed in one Superficies, as it were in the same Cieling, at an equal Distance every where from the Earth; but some of them are immers'd deeper than others in the celestial Regions, and are un-  
equally



equally distant from us by immense immensurable Spaces, and every one moves in its own peculiar Orb. And when these Authors place the Firmament, or the Orb of the fixed Stars above the Planets, then, other Orbs, Orb above Orb, 'till they come to the first Mover, as they are pleased to express themselves, and then on the Summit of all, or in the supreme Circle of the Universe, or the *Empyrean* Heaven, they build up a Frame of the Heavens that is entirely fictitious, and an Order of Stars that is not incommodious for the Vulgar, but is utterly unworthy of Astronomers or Philosophers. And they seem to have contriv'd this *Empyrean* Heaven on the Summit of all the Orbs, after the Example of their elemental Fire: For, as they have disposed of this Fire in the superior Part of the elemental World, because it is more light and subtle than the rest, so in the Heavens they place this fiery or this flaming Orb, as being more pure and excellent than them all, in the supreme Region of the Universe; but they talk in either Case absurdly: For neither is there any such fiery Sphere in the outward Part of the sublunary World; and in the Spheres of the fixed Stars, the fiery Matter dwells not in the Ends or the Extremity of the Orb, but has its Place in the

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Middle, and constitutes there a bright and a flaming Star. So that unless you will place the Habitation of the Souls of the Just amidst these Flames; that is, in the Sun, or some other Stars, you will find nothing besides of *Empyrean* through all the Extent of Heaven.

But tho' the *Empyrean* Heaven, in the Sense and Situation in which it is set forth above, appears to me to be a mere Fiction, yet I see nothing that can hinder our Belief, that among the celestial Orbs, as among the Stars, some are more bright, more flaming, and if I may so express myself, more glorious than others. But wherever *Schechinah* is, or the glorious Body of Christ, it spreads its Rays like a new Star, and its Light around it, and in its Neighbourhood all around it, the blessed Saints shall dwell, as under a Throne of Glory. Christ has often told us, that, and thus, being about to die, accosts his Father, *Father, I will that those whom thou hast given unto me, where I am should be with me, that they may behold the Glory which thou hast given me; for thou lovedst me before the Foundation of the World.* But strictly to define these Seats and these Mansions of Bliss, is not in our Power at present; nor, indeed, does it much concern us: But since the  
Saints

Saints shall have their Habitation in Heaven, and their Inheritance in the Realms of Light, it is very probable that their Seats will be not only above the Globe of the Moon, but above the Atmospheres of the Planets in those Ætherial Regions where there is eternal Day, and where Night never comes. Lastly, since Christ has taught us, that *in his Father's House there are many Mansions*, Eph. iv. 10. *John* xiv. 2. it is but reasonable to suppose that every Saint, or Assembly of Saints, according to the Degree of their Purity and Perfection, will have their Habitation nearer to *Schechinah*, or to the Throne of Glory.

Thus much concerning the Station and Seat of the Blessed. As for their Condition (for we have said that both of them are comprehended under the Name of Heaven,) that is, the Kind and Degree of Felicity, which the Saints will enjoy in these Ætherial Regions, the Saying of the Apostle has here deservedly a Place; *Eye hath not seen, nor hath Ear heard, nor can the Mind of Man conceive the Happiness that God has prepared for those who love him.* 1 *Cor.* ii. 9. These Things surpass our present Capacities, and the Force of human Thought. Yet this is certain, that let them be what they will, they must all be refer'd either

either to the Body, or to the Mind. What the Body of the Blessed will be in Heaven, both as to the Matter and to the Form of it, we have in the seventh and eight Chapters, to the best of our Powers, explain'd; that besides its incomparable Endowments, it will be free from every Evil of Sicknes, or Pain, or Trouble, which we are afflicted with in our present Bodies: And that it will willingly, and without Reluctance, obey the Commands of Reason, prepar'd and ready for every kind of Obedience. As for the Soul, all its Faculties in that State, will be greater and stronger, and will aspire to the utmost Perfection. The Senses the Affections, all the Faculties of the Soul will become more lively, and will terminate in greater and more illustrious Objects.

And first of all, new and most wonderful Objects will not be wanting to entertain the outward Senses; when being exalted above all the Planets, we shall view the boundless Ocean of the Universe, and innumerable Globes of Worlds, floating along the vast Stream of the Sky, each fill'd with its proper Inhabitants: For the Force of the Eye, and the visual Faculty will be so ordain'd and constituted, that it will surpass all the Power of the most artful Glasses,  
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and will reach and take in Objects much greater and nobler, and more remote than what we now discern in this muddy Air. Then, when we shall contemplate the fix'd Stars, those eternal celestial Fires, those numberless Suns of prodigious Magnitude, succeeding one another without End, thro' all the immense Spaces of the Sky, what Pleasure, what Raptures will not this Prospect of the Universe raise in us? How great is the Lord, how great is our God, the Author and Creator of every Creature, of every Thing that fills this boundless All?

\* Lastly, Besides this Magnificence of the Works divine, there will be a matchless Beauty in the Face of the Heavens, seeing that the Stars, like so many Gems of different Orders, and of different Kinds, will shine with a thousand several Glories, and a thousand various Colours, when in the Confines of the Orbs, and their Approaches to each other, their Rays being variously refracted, new Lights and painted Arches will arise, and numerous Kinds and Forms of Splendors will be seen, such as are painted by the Prophet in the holy City, *Revel. xxi. 18, 19, &c.* This, besides, ought

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\* Alas! How vile does this Earth seem, when I look up to Heaven! See the Places of *Senecã*, in his *Natur. Quest. Præfat. Quam juvat inter Sydera, &c.*

to be added, that when we shall have obtain'd a Station, or Seat, in those Ætherial Regions, a Station exalted above all the Planets, we shall not only see one Hemisphere, or half of the Heavens, as now we see it; but shall behold the Sphere entire, and at one and the same Time become Spectators of the vast Circumference and Amphitheatre of the World; the Palace of the universal King, with all its Ornaments, and its most splendid Furniture. What and how much will be added, to this celestial Sight by the Presence and Influence of the Divine *Schechinah*, is beyond all mortal Power to express.

But why do we dwell so long upon the outward Senses? The chief Felicity of the Saints in Heaven will consist in the Contemplation of their Minds, and the Motions of their Affections. But this Felicity escapes us, or, as the Apostle expresses it, *does not enter into the Heart of Man* in this present State. But this, nevertheless, we know, that the greater and the more excellent the Objects of the Understanding are, the purer and the fuller Joy does the Mind receive from the Contemplation of them. This likewise, we know, that there is nothing in the Universe, or the Nature of Things, greater than the divine

Nature ; and the Perfections of it, to whom nothing that is finite can be equal, or second ; from which the Consequence is very clear, that to Minds rightly prepar'd, the most transporting Happiness must arise from the Contemplation and the Love of God. So far the Point is clear ; but we are not able, in this Life, either to express in Words, or to reach in Thought, the very lowest Degrees, or so much as a light Idea of this high Beatitude ; so foreign and so remote is true Felicity from our present Condition.

But to proceed a little : By the same Degrees that we make an Improvement and Proficiency in the Knowledge of God, will the Love and Admiration of him increase in us, than which Affections human Nature knows nothing that brings more Felicity to it : Then the sacred Scripture testifies, and Reason on several Accounts convinces us, that our Knowledge of Things divine will be improved in the Heavens, to the very utmost of our Endeavour, and our Capacity. Here, says the Apostle, our Knowledge is like that of Children ; but it will be there like that in the Vigour and Maturity of manly Age ; *Here we see through a Glass darkly, but there Face to Face ; now I know in Part, but then I shall*

*know as also I am known,* 1 Cor. xiii. 12. Whatever secret Sense these Words of the Apostle may have, consider'd one by one, and narrowly sifted, yet they teach us in general, that our Knowledge will be compleat and perfect when we shall be conversant in Heaven, and among celestial Inhabitants.

Reason likewise speaks the same Language to us, and the same the Nature of the Thing, since all Things concur in that celestial Life, which may promote or enlarge our Knowledge. Those Assistants to Science, or those Incitements and Spurs to Enquiry, which proceed from the external Senses, and the Knowledge which we receive from them will be much stronger, and more efficacious, and will much farther extend themselves in discerning either small or remote Objects, than the Organs of our present Bodies can ever be able to carry us. Then the Force of Reason, and the Force of Genius will become much more clear and strong, and penetrating, by the Purity and Subtily of our celestial Bodies, and the Soul will soar to angelick Understanding and Excellency in every kind of its Affections and Contemplations. Lastly, by the Purity of the Mind, together with that of the Body, we shall be render'd  
rightly



rightly dispos'd, and fit to receive God; I mean, to receive those divine Influxes and Illuminations, which surpass the Gifts of Nature, be it ever so much exalted. That eternal Truth, that intellectual Light is diffus'd throughout the Universe. But is receiv'd only according to the Measure of the Receiver; and Souls, according to the Largeness of their Knowledge, and the Purity of their Affections, become more capacious of the Deity, and take larger Draughts of celestial Rays and celestial Inspirations. This Crust of Flesh, this Mass of Mud, with which we are at present cover'd, scarce allows Entrance to Light divine; but by the Sparkles which we sometimes perceive, we are brought to desire, and to expect the Blaze of Day, like Harvest by the first Fruits.

To all this is wont to be added, as the Top and Accomplishment of our Happiness in the Heavens, the Vision beatifick. But here we understand either the corporeal and external, or incorporeal and intellectual Vision. As far as 'tis corporeal, it will be the Vision of *Schechinah*, that is, of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ in his glorious Body; \* for God himself is invisible

\* As the Angels see God, *Matt. xviii. 10.* so shall we see him.

ble, as a most pure and unmix'd Spirit. The incorporeal Vision will be a Contemplation of the divine Nature; and in that, as in a Glass, a Sight of both Worlds, the ideal or the eternal, or the temporary and external World. The Effences or the Ideas of Things, and the eternal and unchangeable Truths, which result from the Regards and Relations which they have to each other, I call the Ideal World: The Ranks and Degrees of all possible Things, from the great Creator of all, or from the Being infinitely perfect, down through all intermediate Degrees, to the lowest Order of all and the nearest Approach to Nothing; perspicuously to contemplate all these, as in the open Bosom of the Father, and as they are ranged and shine in the divine Understanding, is a Vision truly beatifick.

But we have said, that this contemplative Vision comprehends both the one and the other World; that eternal and unchangeable one in the divine Intellect; and this present, temporary, changeable one, which is governed by the Will of God, on which it entirely depends. And here too a boundless Field of Contemplation offers itself, of which in this Life we are scarce able to reach to the least Part. We here are ignorant both of the Number, the Order,  
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the Magnitude, the Perfection and the Vicissitudes and Periods of created Things. We in a great Measure, are ignorant of the Implements of our little World, the Earth, of the History of our Animals, our Plants, and of Things inanimate; but of their Causes and their Influences we are much more ignorant. But there are innumerable planetary Worlds besides, that, like ours, are adorned and provided with Things and Creatures of every Kind, both animated and inanimated. In contemplating these, we shall admire the Wisdom of God, and his inexhaustible Fecundity, that shews itself in them a thousand different Ways; while we behold and revolve in our Thoughts the Variety that appears in Millions of Shapes, the new Appearance and the new Ornaments that are seen in every one of them; yet every where fit and beautiful and accommodated.

----- *Facies non omnibus una,  
Nec diversa tamen, qualem decet esse Sororum.*

*Each of their Faces is distinguished from the others; yet not so distinguished, but that there is some Resemblance, and such a Distinction is becoming in Sisters, as the Effect  
and*

*and Result of Nature in those who spring from the same Father.*

But besides the Order of natural Things that will be seen in every Planet, or in every planetary World, there is likewise in each of them a moral Order, or a religious Oeconomy; by which the Inhabitants of every World are directed in their divine Worship, in their Search after Truth, and their Improvement in Virtue, that they may at length attain eternal Felicity. In these religious Oeconomies, (of which amongst innumerable Worlds there is an infinite Variety,) not only the Glory of the divine Wisdom, but likewise of his Goodness and his Justice shine out most brightly: In these the primary Misteries of Providence are laid up. In the Oeconomy of our little World, the Mystery of Messiah is *Alpha* and the *Omega*, and fills all Parts; what passes in the rest of the Worlds is hid from us; but if by one Example we may judge of the rest, we ought to believe, that in every World there are new Proofs of admirable Wisdom, under various and different Forms and Ministeries: But to unlock and take a View of these Treasures, these Secrets of Providence, this Theory, if I may so express myself, of all Religions spread through the Immensity of the Universe:

verse: What Pleasures, what Transports, what ravishing Sensations, must not this Prospect, and these Contemplations excite in us? Nothing can be more pleasing to the Soul, than to make a Progress in the most excellent Studies, and to enjoy that Truth which we continually court, with which we are continually charm'd.

Why should I mention the fix'd Stars, those noble, those glorious Bodies, excelling vastly the Planets in Matter, and in Magnitude: They are far from being all of them fixed in the same vaulted Roof of Heaven, as to us wretched Mortals they appear, but are profusely sown at immense Distances from each other, through all the vast Concave and the Profundity of Heaven. 'Tis reasonable to believe, that according to the Fulness of the divine Power, Inhabitants are not wanting to these Morning, these first created Stars, which sing forth the Praise of God, according to that of *Job*, *when the Morning Stars sung together and all the Sons of God shouted for Joy*. These have, I say, their own Inhabitants, and Animals which are peculiar to them, and every Thing else in Proportion greater than our contemptible Trifles; according to the Dignity and the Magnitude of primary Bodies of the Universe.

Lastly, We shall in Heaven have a clear Prospect of *the intellectual System of the World*, which is most of all hid from us here. I speak of the Order of Angels and Archangels, and all that illustrious and glorious Hierarchy, in Understanding and Majesty next to God, and immediately under him in the Administration of the Empire of the Universe. When we shall have a full and a clear View of the Forces, the Numbers, the Degrees, the Endowments, the Dignities, and the Splendors of this celestial Army, how mean and how vile will all earthly Things appear to us? *Things that are past will not be remembred, nor ever come into the Mind again.* This the Prophet formerly said concerning the State of Things under the Kingdom of Christ in the new Earth: Much more shall the Memory of all Things past be obscur'd, and vanish before celestial Glory. There will be no more Place for these empty Trifles with which we are taken up here: The greatest, the best, and the noblest Objects, will be then the Observation both of the Eyes and Mind, and passing Eternity in Contemplation and the Enjoyment of these, we shall be eternally ravish'd with the transporting Pleasures  
which

which will flow from that sublime Im-  
ployment. And,

Thus we have with Brevity shewn what  
our Sentiments ought to be concerning the  
beatifick Vision, 'tis the Vision of the ex-  
ternal World after a sensible Manner; but  
under a much more illustrious Appearance  
than it is seen at present, especially when  
we shall behold the divine *Schechinah*, or  
the Glory of Christ, if you speak of the  
Vision incorporeal, that is another *Sche-  
chinah* if I may be allowed to call it so,  
or the internal and intellectual Vision of  
God; the Object of which Vision is two-  
fold: First, there is the Idea of God, and  
in him all Things visible and eternal,  
which may be called the Antemundane, and  
immoveable Idea; and then the Idea of  
created Things, or of the World external  
to God, perceiv'd by the Understanding of  
all its Latitude, and through all its Dura-  
tion, through all its Periods and its Vicissi-  
tudes, through all the Regions of the Uni-  
verse, and all the Orders of Creatures;  
lastly, through all the Series of Ages, from  
the Beginning of Time to the End of it.  
This may be called the *Mundane Idea*, or  
the universal Mirror of Providence; and  
about nothing more great, more illustrious,  
or more divine, can the Minds of Men or

Angels be conversant, than these amazing Objects. And if Felicity springs from Vision or Contemplation, thrice happy may they be pronounced, who, in this glorious Light behold the Light, who drink Draughts of Life from this eternal Fountain of it; they who are thrown out of their natural State by drinking of these Rivers of Pleasure, are hurried beyond themselves by Raptures and Extasies, or with open Breasts receive their God within them.

May we be allow'd to add one Thing to these, in order to explain the Vision of God, that inexhaustible Mystery? We are said in the Heavens to behold God Face to Face, and to see him as he is: Here we see God in his Works, as through a Glass; there we shall see him in himself; Here we behold him in his Attributes; there we shall view him in his Essence, or in his proper Idea: While we are in this present State, the divine Goodness appears one Thing to us, the Justice of God another; his Power another Thing, and his Wisdom another: His Will still seems another Thing, and his Understanding another. Sometimes God seems to us to act, and sometimes to be unactive; and now to act one Way, and anon another. Then he



neither appears to be a simple nor an immutable Being, but rather a Being the most compounded of all Beings, and more or less, according to the Occasion, active; nor even this with Uniformity: But when we shall see God in his proper Idea, all these will come into one most simple and immutable Nature. And to contemplate God after this Manner, is to see God *as he is*, viz. a Being infinitely perfect, an universal Flow of Light, and of unclouded Glory.

But I restrain myself: For should we, like little Children, utter imperfect Sounds, imperfect Sense, concerning the sublimest Matters, which by so many Degrees surpass our little Capacities, and which too hastily fly the Search of those who live in this Darkness here on Earth? We ought, with *St. Paul*, to be rapp'd into the third Heaven, in order to learn these unspeakable Things, these sublimest of all Mysteries. The sacred Scripture itself is almost silent, and speaks but sparingly and in general concerning the State of Souls who are for ever happy in Heaven, and of the Means and Degrees of their Happiness. When it mentions *Rivers of Pleasure*, or *the Delights of Paradise*, or *the Crowns of Glory*, or other Things of the like Nature, to  
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paint celestial Glory and celestial Felicity; its Language is according to that of the Vulgar; for the Capacity and the Use of the People, who are wont to measure and value the Sovereign Good by these external little glittering Things. Besides, we ought to observe,

That since the future Felicity of the Saints is two-fold, one in the new Earth, under the Reign of Christ for a thousand Years; the other in the Heavens, upon the Consummation of all Things, which latter is to last eternally; there are many Things more in the sacred Writings, which relate to the former, than to the latter Felicity; I say to the former, as being nearer to us, and in the Way that leads to the other. Besides, we more easily conceive its State, and its Manner, because 'tis terrestrial, and not much unlike to our present Life, except its Incommodities, and its Calamities. But the other, or the celestial Felicity, differs wholly from the Use and Manner of our present Life, and comes up entirely to an angelick State, a State most foreign to the Capacity and Understanding of the Vulgar.

*St. John has rightly taught us, It does not yet appear what we shall be, that is, in the Heavens; but we know that when he*  
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*appears we shall be like him.* Then Christ tells us, that we shall be like to the Angels, *isangelous*. And therefore, as to the Body we shall be like to Christ; as to the Body and Mind, we shall be like to the Angels. This we know in general: But this two-fold Conformity contains in it the Seeds of the various Perfections. From hence we acquire new Force for all the Acts of the Understanding, and for compleating the Contemplation of Truth; and the Love of God, and Happiness increases in us, as our Knowledge increases. We still make a farther Progress in the Knowledge of Things divine, and are transformed from Glory to Glory, after the Image of God himself, till we come to a Measure of the Fulness of the Stature of Christ, and to an Union with God and with Christ; what and how great we know not.

Grant, O God, that the Felicity, which yet we are not able so much as to conceive, we at length may know by Experience and by Fruition; and that, despising the empty Pleasures, and Glories of this World, we may enjoy substantial, never-ending Joys and Glories in Heaven, by and for the Sake of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

We now come to treat of *Hell*. By which Word the Christian Authors understand the Place and State of the Damned; and of Men and Demons wicked and miserable. The *Latins* by their *Hell* sometimes denote the State of the Dead in general, which the *Greeks* call *aden*, a State of absconding, or if I may call it so, of Invisibilty, in which Sense and Signification, 'tis used in the sacred Writings, as by learned Men has been abundantly shewn: But Use has obtain'd among many, that by the Word *Hell*, is understood the Prison of miserable and wicked Creatures, who are departed this Life, and the Place of their Punishment and their Torment; and that in Regions under us. According to this Acceptation of the Word, let us first, if you please, enquire, whether there is any such Place in Being as a subterranean Hell?

There is no doubt but that there are many and monstrous Cavities under Ground; some of which are fill'd with Water, some with Fire, and some with only Air: But among all these, you will hardly find one with which the Conditions and Qualities of Hell will exactly agree. This infernal Place in the sacred Writings, is call'd, *Outward Darkness*, and *Unquenchable Fire*: 'Tis hardly possible, that the same Place  
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can be at once dark and fiery, unless very many and gross Fumes, are intermixed with the Fire. And 'tis from hence, I believe, that some have taken Occasion to imagine that the Tops and the Vents of *Ætna*, and the Mouths and Jaws of other vulcanian Mountains, are the Gates of Hell; I can by no Means agree with these. For you must imagine, according to this Hypothesis, either that there are so many separate Hells, as there are Mountains upon the Earth that vomit Fire, which would be absurd; or that there is one continual or void Subterranean Region, which every where runs under the exterior Orb of the Earth; as formerly the Abyſs in the Antediluvian World. But according to the present Construction of the Earth, 'tis impossible that such an empty Region can extend itself under the whole Globe of the Earth: For that Region would be either under the Bottom of the Ocean, or higher and superior to it. If it were higher, it would be interrupted by the inter-currency of the Ocean, between the Islands and the Continents, and in several other Places, and so would constitute manifold and divided various Hells. But if you place this Region beneath the Ocean, besides that in the Origination of the Earth

from Chaos, this empty Region under the Abyſs could not poſſible be formed or conſtituted, if there were any Deſcent or Paſſage, or Entrance into this Hell, thither down would the Waters of the Ocean, and other ſubterranean Waters flow, and extinguish the Fire.

There is certainly no Abſurdity in believing that there is Fire, or a Maſs of Fire at the Centre of the Earth; and therefore, others pretend that Hell is to be placed there. It would ſurely be very difficult, according to this Hypotheſis, to deſcend or arrive at Hell, thus ſituated in the very Heart of the Earth. The Wicked would rejoice when the Place of their future Torment, would be thus impervious and inacceſſible: How many ſolid Regions, what Bulk and Thickneſs of Earth, were to be perforated in this Journey? How much Time would be ſpent on the Way? The Semidiameter of the Earth is believed to contain about three thouſand four hundred of our Miles: The Ground itſelf, indeed, is not impenetrable: But by what Hole, or what Opening, or through what Part of the Earth's Superficies, a Paſſage can be given to ſo vaſt a Profundity, we are utterly to ſeek. Beſides, 'tis manifeſt that the Devils are not entirely ſhut up in this central

tral Prison; but that they rather wander through the Regions of the Air, as it were in free Custody; and the infernal Tyrant is called the Prince of the Air in the sacred Writings; where we are taught by the same Oracles, that he has his Habitation at present, and the Seat of his Empire; and that he will, at length, be shut up in the great Abyss at the Beginning of Christ's Millennial Kingdom.

But, perhaps, you will object to me the Saying of the Apostle, *That the evil Angels were cast down into Hell, and delivered into Chains of Darkness.* And that besides Christ descended *eis katotera tes ges.* Lastly, by customary speaking, as well sacred as vulgar, we are said to ascend into Heaven, and *to descend into Hell*; therefore there is a subterranean Place. But these Arguments prove nothing at all: First, as to *Tartarus*, or *Hell*, this Word is used to signify the subterranean World, and the gloomy Air, with which we are surrounded, as is very well known to the Learned. And into this *Tartarus*, this *Hell*, or this inferior and impure Region of the Air, the degenerate Angels are thrown down, being expelled their native Ætherial Seats; But whereas, they are said to be kept in Chains, that is spoke alluding to a com-

mon Custom, because Criminals are wont to be so kept to hinder them from escaping. Then as to what relates to the Descent of Christ *eis ta katotera tes ges*, that does not relate to the Death of Christ, (as is abundantly evident from other Places compar'd with it) but to his Incarnation; that is, when in order to procure Salvation for us, he left his Heaven, and vouchsafed to descend to this lower Earth: I say, *lower*, or inferior, that is, with Respect to the Heavens, for the Comparison is not founded here upon the Parts of the Earth, but upon the Parts of the Universe. Lastly, when the Dead are said to descend into Hell, *ad inferos vel infernum*, that either denotes the *Sepulchre*, whither the Bodies of the Good, as well as of the Wicked, descend; or, it is particularly applied to the Wicked: For as contrary Fate is, so opposite Places are assigned to the Good and the Wicked; and, therefore, as we provide Heaven for the former, a Region sublime and refulgent, we believe that a subterranean and a gloomy Mansion is well adapted to the latter. Nor is it so easy to conceive that the free Air should be the Receptacle of Souls, and their Prison, as some dismal Abode under Ground. But vulgar Opinions and imaginary Accounts,

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are of no Use in determining the Truth of Things. But let us proceed to what follows:

If no such Thing is to be found as a subterranean Hell, the next Question is, whether there is any where a corporeal and local Hell before the Day of Judgment, and the Conflagration of the World? or, whether before that Day of the Lord the Wicked are only plagued with internal Stings, and tormented by their own Furies. For my own Part, I am inclined to that Opinion, that before the Day of general Judgment there will be no external Punishments.\* If departed Souls, till that Time comes, remain naked and without Bodies, the Thing is then indubitable; at least for them who expect, that at the last Day there will be an external Judicature with all the Formality of the Proceedings of a human Court of Justice: For neither can naked and invisible Minds be brought before a Tribunal, nor is it just that any one should be condemned to suffer before his Cause is try'd and determined.

I know it is affirmed, as we observed  
above,

\* Some of the Fathers believed, that there was no local corporeal Hell before the Day of Judgment. See them in *Maldongr.* upon *Luke xvi.*

above, that there is private and particular Judgment appointed before the general one for every Soul as soon as it leaves the Body; and that in some Measure may be receiv'd, provided they who assert it, mean nothing external by it, but only an internal Punishment, by which every one suffers according as he has done, and his own Conscience being at once a Witness and Judge, regards himself already as one both guilty and condemn'd, and suffers Punishment according to the Degree of his Guilt *autokatakritos*, being judg'd and condemn'd by himself. But here we are speaking of an external or corporeal Punishment; for which it seems impossible that there can be any Room before the Resurrection. I am not ignorant that in the Parable of *Dives* and *Lazarus*, the Souls of the Departed are soon carried, on one Side, into the Bosom of *Abraham*, and on the other, into tormenting Fires: But in the same Relation, *Dives* has a Tongue, and Lips, and the other Organs of Speech; and consequently his whole Body, as if he had carried it entire with him to Hell; which evidently shews that that Relation is not true, *kata resin*, according to the Letter, but that 'tis like a Fable or Emblem, *upo-iuposeos*, accommodated to the Use and

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Capacity of the People, and contrived and invented to represent Truth by Fiction, viz. that the Soul survives after the Body is extinct, and that in another Life the Good will be happy, and the Wicked miserable.

These Things being thus laid open, it seems to me to be highly probable, that the Punishments of the Wicked before the Day of Judgment will be only internal, that is to say, a total Privation of every Good, and of every Comfort, besides the Stings of Conscience, the Anguish of Soul, and a restless and a dreadful Expectation of the Judgment to come, and that there will be no external or general Hell open'd or kindled before the coming of Christ, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from Heaven, *with his mighty Angels in flaming Fire, taking Vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.* This is the judicial, the solemn, the appointed Time, when Sentence being past, the Wicked shall receive their Punishment; and not only Men, but flagitious Devils, who are deliver'd into Chains of Darkness, and reserved to be tormented to this Day, *2 Pet. ii. 4. Jude ver. 6.* Nor is it otherwise probable, that the Devils at present should live among Torments, or in tormenting Flames, when they

they wander about the Air and the Globe of the Earth with too much Life and Activity.\*

Thus have we treated succinctly of Hell, and of the State and Mansions of the Wicked before the Day of Judgment: But when that fatal Day arrives, and the impious Dead being summoned to appear by the Sound of the last Trumpet, shall be thrown down into Hell, and condemned to external Punishments, the Question is, Whether those Punishments are to endure eternally, without Cessation, without Relaxation, without End? Human Nature abhors the very Name of eternal Punishments which sets before our Eyes a Spectacle of insatiable, implacable, Revenge; and this for no Manner of Profit or Hopes of Amendment; yet the sacred Scripture seems to declare for the contrary Side. Jesus Christ, though the greatest Lover of hu-  
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\* Since there is assigned to wicked Men and Devils the same Place of Punishment, and both are to receive their Sentence at the same Time; but since these latter will not be cast into Hell, or the Place of Torment; before the coming of Christ, as is plain from the sacred Writers and their Interpreters, [See P. P. Gerard *Torn. 9. de extr. Jud. p. 78. Maldonat. in Mat. viii. 29. 'Tis remarkable how unanimously most of the antient Authors taught that the Devils will not be tormented before the Day of Judgment,]* so it neither does seem agreeable to Scripture, that the latter should be thrust down thither before that Time;

man Kind, yet plainly and expressly calls the Punishments of the Devils and Damn'd, external Punishments, when laying before us the Destinies of the Righteous and the Ungodly, he pronounces Sentence against the latter in the following Form: *Depart from me, ye Cursed, into everlasting Fire, prepared for the Devil and his Angels,* Matt. xxv. 41. To the same Purpose he tells us, *That the Wheat being gather'd into the Garner, the Chaff is to be burnt with unquenchable Fire,* Matt. iii. 12. and that *in Hell the Worm dieth not, and the Fire is not quenched,* Mark, ix. 44.

These Testimonies we have from the Mouth of Christ himself, that the Punishments of the Wicked shall be eternal, without End: Nor do the Apostles and Prophets speak otherwise, *Dan. xii. 2. 2 Thes. i. 9.* At the same Time on the other Side, Reason, the Nature of God, and the Nature of Things, cry out loudly against it, and admonish us, that some Moderation is to be used, and some commodious Explication of the divine Passages, that both human Rights and divine may not at once be violated, and the Christian Religion suffer in its Interest or Reputation.

At the same Time it is my Opinion, that we ought firmly to adhere to that

Rule for the Interpretation of Scripture, which has been received by Divines, *That without absolute Necessity, we ought not to depart from the Letter.* Then, in the next Place, we are to enquire, whether the Duration of eternal Punishment is not repugnant to manifest Reasons, and to invincible Arguments; For, if this is the Case, the most rigid Censurers ought to excuse us, if in this Point we dissent from the common Interpretation. The Soul flies from the very Thought, and abhors the Remembrance of everlasting Misery; and several Things have occur'd to me, while I have been thinking on this Subject, by which I am sensible that others have been persuaded, as well as myself, that God neither will, nor can endure the Affliction and Torment of his own Creature, nor can Nature itself endure it. Then, we conceive the God of the Christians to be the best and the wisest of Beings; that he is neither cruel nor unjust to the Race of Men; that there is nothing barbarous or dismal in his Worship, that he has neither instituted, nor suffer'd any Thing that is barbarous, any Thing that is inhuman: No Blood, or Wounds, or tearing of the Skin or Flesh; nor does he love, after the Manner of *Moloch*, to embrace living Infants with their

their Arms on Fire. Besides, Jesus, the Head and the Captain of the Christian Dispensation, to whom the Father has committed all Judgment, is the greatest Lover of human Kind; and suffer'd his own Blood to be shed to redeem us from Evil and Misery. This King and merciful Father, and this most righteous Judge, govern entirely the Fates of human Kind; and yet you assert that, according to the sacred Scriptures, the greatest Part of human Kind will be damn'd to eternal Punishments, even by this most merciful Father, by this most righteous Judge.

Concerning the Number of those who will be miserable in another Life, I have nothing to say, not being able to know any Thing of it: But that God should condemn his own Creatures to a State of eternal Misery, and should retain them in that State, seems to be repugnant both to divine Wisdom and Goodness, and, I may add likewise, to Justice: I say, repugnant to Wisdom; for a State like this, of everlasting and unchangeable Misery, would be in vain, and of no Use, and therefore unwise and unworthy of God; for a Torment without Cessation, and without End, can neither be of Service to God, nor to Man; not to Man most certainly, if there

is no Room for Repentance, and he who is tormented can never grow better; if no Intermiffion, and no Ease is allowed, that the Tormented may respire a little, and deliberate concerning the Change of his State and his Mind. Let this Punishment be fevere, let it be bitter, nay, let it be lasting, but let it, at length, have an End; it can otherwise produce no Fruit, no, not the least Degree of it; nor would it be possible for these miserable Sinners to repent, and lead better Lives, if amidst the Pangs of their Bodies and their Minds they should happen to be born again.

But you will say, that their Punishment is deservedly continued, their Impiety continued: But the Damn'd are incurable, and always persist in their Malice. But this is begging the Question, and this Supposition is injurious to the Dignity of God the Creator; for 'tis neither agreeable to the divine Wisdom nor Goodness, so to form and constitute the reasonable Nature of Men, that it should be able to degenerate into a Depravity, from which there can be no Recovery; or into an unchangeable State of Misery and Impiety, \* for  
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\* Knowing that no reasonable Creature shall perish everlastingly. *Hieron in Gal. iv.*



such a State can be pleasing to no Deity, unless perhaps to the evil God of the *Mannichees*. But if God, the greatest and the best of Beings would create such a Being as this, he would certainly, on this Condition create it, that as soon as it was arrived to this incurable, this utterly desperate State, it should return to its primitive nothing. Nor, in my Opinion, can the Honour of Providence be otherwise safe than by cutting off that from the Number of Beings which once is grown incurable, and by the Destruction of that, which is not only worth nothing, but is some Degrees worse than nothing.

But by what Argument will you pretend to convince me, that the Souls of the Wicked are after Death incurable? The Fathers seem'd not to have believed that, who were of Opinion, that the last would be a purgative Fire, concerning which, we have treated in the sixth Chapter. Nor does it seem just to limit the divine Power and Wisdom, and to oppress it with an evil irresistible Destiny, or an incurable Disease, for whatever this Distemper of Souls may be, if it can by any Method, or any Medicine be driven out, no Remedy certainly is more powerful, or more effectual than Fire, or than fiery Torments: This  
Pain,

Pain, if any, will cause them to be touch'd with Sense of their former Crimes, and to grow weary of their present Misery. Besides, in that other Life, there will be no longer Room, for the Infidelity of the Wicked: *When they shall see Christ coming in the Clouds, surrounded with Glory, and with his mighty Angels, triumphing every where over his Enemies, and trampling them under his Feet.* And then that Fomentation of Evil, which dwells in this Body and this Flesh, will, in that State, be extinguished and cease: There will be no internal Concupiscence, no external Nourishment of Vice, nor any Allurements to Pleasure, to Ambition, or Avarice, or any Incitements of the Senses or Passions to Wickedness. For my Part, I cannot perceive by what Argument, true or false, or by what Impulse internal or external, they can be moved to adhere eternally to their Vices and their Impiety, unless they should be harden'd by God himself. But if they are actuated from without, and by Force, and are Masters neither of their Reason nor Liberty, I cannot see how they can be further condemn'd. But we shall presently resume this Subject; in the mean while let us proceed to the rest.

Besides, we appeal in this Cause to divine Justice and Equity. The Man, whom God created liable to fall, him, because he fell; God will not punish eternally; nor will he deprive him, to whom he has given the Power, or rather the Impotence and the Liberty of falling into Vice, of the Power and the Liberty of relinquishing that Vice. But you will say, perhaps, that God does not deprive the Wicked of this Power and Liberty, but it proceeds from their own Will, that they persist in Evil immoveable and inflexible. I answer, that according to your Hypothesis God has created them of such a Nature, that they cannot be otherwise than inflexible and ir-recoverable, after they have once departed this Life, and descended into their Torments. Grant me but this, that those miserable Creatures are capable of repenting, and we will not throw away all Hope of their being receiv'd into Grace: But you deny they can repent; I desire that you will prove that their Repentance is impossible. If they continue to be reasonable Creatures, indued with Understanding and Will, they can repent; but if they are depriv'd of Reason and Liberty, they can no longer sin.

Others argue thus from divine Justice: 'Tis against all Equity, that the Offences of a short Life, of a Life prone to Vice, should be punish'd with eternal Punishments, when there is no Proportion between the Offence and the Punishment. But here, perhaps, you will retort, according to Custom, that every Sin carries with it infinite Guilt, as being committed against an infinite God. This in some Measure, indeed, may be said; but this is not the Rule, nor the Measure of the Actions of God towards his Creatures. According to this draconic Law, the smallest Offences may be lawfully punished with eternal Punishments, nay, and with the most grievous; for the Reason which you give is full as strong for the greatness of the Punishments, as for their Duration.

Let us suppose then, since in strict Justice it may be done, that the lightest Transgressors will be punished with the greatest, and those eternal Punishments, what shall be done with the more grievous Transgressors? what to the most Grievous? If the lightest Transgressors deserve the greatest, and those perpetual Punishments, what does or can the most Grievous deserve beyond it? for nothing is greater than the Greatest. This Account of yours, therefore,  
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confounds all the Ends and Purposes of punitive Justice, and make Sins in some Measure equal.

But let us proceed from the Justice of God, to his Goodness. The greatest Rigour of Justice is said to be the highest Injustice: 'Tis at least, inconsistent with Goodness and Mercy. But God, according to this your Hypothesis, in the Punishment of Sinners, uses the highest and the severest Justice, that I may say nothing worse; for he punishes them, with the most exquisite Torments, and Torments which are to endure eternally, than which no Punishment can be conceiv'd more dismal or more intolerable; we read of the Torments which the Christians endured in the first Ages of the Church, and what, besides, *Sicilian* and other Tyrants invented: But these are mild and gentle all, compar'd to infernal Torments; and not only gentle, but transitory; but a Pain that is at the same Time vehement and eternal, carries with it all the Degrees of Pain. Do but fancy such a raging Heat of a Fever, such a racking Fit of the Stone, or such a tormenting Cholick, as is to endure seven Years, who could be equal to the supporting these cruel Pangs? But if instead of seven, you put a thousand Years, no one

could be found that would either purchase or bear that Millennial Life, upon that Condition ; and much less Eternity.

But perhaps you will say, that this is not the extream Rigour of his Justice, that God could have annihilated the Wicked, and have reduced them to nothing; and that by this Means he would use the extream Rigour of his Justice. I answer, that 'tis much more desirable not at all to be, and to be touch'd by no Sense, either of Good or Evil, than to exist in perpetual Torments, without Intermiſſion, without End. This seems to me to be clear by the Light of Nature. Let me, O God, return into nothing ; I am weary of my Being : 'Tis preferable much to have no Sensation, than to have no Sensation of any Thing but Pain. Take, O God, says the miserable Creature, depriv'd almost by tormenting Flames of Reason, take away what is thine ; I had rather to be out of the Number of Things ; O let me perish, that I may avoid Perdition. This is the Voice of Nature ; nor will we stop to make any Answer to the little Subtleties and Quirks of Metaphysicians. I appeal to the Race of Men, and to all Men of Sense whatever, if 'tis not more eligible to be depriv'd of all Life, of all Cogitation, of all Existence,  
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than to be tormented in eternal Flames, to groan under eternal Torments. And nothing is more certain, than that if human Nature had not regarded, with more Horror, the Height of Misery and eternal Torment, than Insensibility and Annihilation, God had threatened the Wicked with Annihilation instead of eternal Torments, and had used that as a more prevalent Way of deterring Mankind from Vice: But 'tis Time to return to our Subject.

Since this then is the Case, and Annihilation is the extreamest Rigour of Justice that God can do to his Creatures (that he might not be the Author of greater Evil than Good to any one,) yet he seems to decree and to execute something more grievous and dismal, something more bitter and cruel against those whom he condemns, than the extreamest Rigour of his Justice requires. The extream Rigour of Justice comes near to cruel, much less can that which goes beyond that extream Rigour, escape the Imputation of Cruelty. At least, as we said above, this Manner of Punishing with the utmost Rigour, or even beyond the utmost Rigour, does but little answer to that infinite Goodness, loving Kindness, and Mercy, which we ascribe to God. And yet not only the Light of Nature,

but the sacred Scripture represents him thus *merciful and gracious, and long suffering, and abounding in Goodness and Truth.* He is drawn, as it were, against his Will to punish: 'Tis a Work that is strange to him, and foreign from his Nature. *Have I any Pleasure at all that the Wicked should die,* saith the Lord God, *and not that he should return from his Ways and live?* But if he has no Pleasure in his temporal Death, much less has he in his eternal Death. But from whence at last comes this eternal Death, or by whom is it inflicted, if 'tis neither pleasing to God, nor to the Creature that suffers, nor can be in the least beneficial to either?

These Things being thus propos'd and debated, concerning the Nature of God, and the just Government of created Things, we must return to the sacred Writings, and to the Interpretation of those Passages, which seem to imply the Eternity of future Punishments. You know very well that the Sense of those Passages depends, in a great Measure, upon the Signification of the Word *aionios*, in Hebrew אֵלֶּם or לְאֵלֶּם; which we have render'd *Eternal*.

In the mean while, it is very well known, that the Force and Meaning of this Word

*aionios,*



*aionios*, or the Hebrew אולם, is doubtful in the sacred Writings; and does not always simply signify *Eternal*, only a long and undetermined Time. The Statutes of the *Mosaick* Law were frequently said to be eternal: *Exod.* xxvii. 21. and xxviii. 43. *Lev.* x. 15. and xvi. 34. *Num.* xviii. 11. and in sundry other Places. And yet these Statutes, with the whole *Mosaick* Law, have many Ages since been abolished, and therefore you must own, that the Signification of that Word is to be mitigated, unless you pretend that the *Judaick* Law is still to be observed.\*

In the same Law, the Servant whose Ear has been bored through by his Master, with his own Consent, is said to be oblig'd to serve him eternally, or for ever, *Exod.* xxi. 6. And yet it was appointed, by the same Law, that all Servants were to be manumitted, or to be made free in the Compass of half an Age, that is to say every  
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\* The Temple of *Jerusalem*, it is said, should be the Habitation of God for ever, *2 Chron.* vi. 2. yet it has been demolished more than once; nor is there now left one Stone upon another, or any Sign of its being the the Habitation of God.

The Kingdom of *David* was said to be eternal, and yet it went out of the Family of *David*, and is now utterly extinct. *V. Episc.* p. 32. *Col.* ii. 6. sec. 3. *2 Sam.* vii. 13.

Jubilee. Besides, before the *Mosaick Law*, Circumcision is said to be an eternal Institution, *Gen. xvii. 7.* and yet Circumcision is now abolished by the same divine Authority. Lastly, the Land of *Canaan* is given to *Abraham* and his Posterity for an eternal Possession, *Gen. xiii. 15,* and *xvii. 8,* and *xlvi. 4.* and yet his Posterity have been a long Time dispossessed of it. By these and many other Passages like them; it is sufficiently evident, that Eternity is not always signified by the Word אולם or לְאֵלֶם: To which, as you know very well, *aion* or *aionios*, answers in the *Septuagint*, and afterwards in the *New Testament* where there is a Necessity for the taking these Words in a looser Sense. Consult, if you please, *Philem. 15. Jude 7. Rom. xvi. 25. 2 Tim. i. 9. Tit. i. 2.* Lastly, the *Grammarians* know very well, that both these Words are more remissly taken by those *Grecians*, who are Sojourners in a Country not their own.\*

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\* And let me add, that it makes nothing against this Explication, that the same Word is used to express the Duration of future Rewards. For the eternal Felicity of the Saints is not in the least repugnant to any of the  
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Therefore, from the Use and Force of the aforesaid Words, nothing can certainly be determined concerning the Eternity of infernal Punishments. Beside, 'tis remarkable, that in that Picture of Hell which the sacred Writings presents to us, there are some Things that undoubtedly are figuratively or tropically expressed; which the Nature of Things themselves will not suffer to be strictly and literally understood. Nor besides that, it is difficult to associate, and to bring, as it were, into a triple Alliance, the Extremity of Cold, and Darkness, and raging Fire; how can Worms be able to endure these Flames and live? nay, not only to live, but to be in some Measure immortal, either in the Individuals, or in the Species and Offspring, since it is said that they *never die*. Lastly, the Bodies of the Damn'd themselves, let them be of what Nature they may, at least if they are compounded and organical, cannot without Dissolution endure eternal Fire: Nor will the Earth itself endure eternally  
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Attributes of God; and therefore, in this Case, there's no Necessity of departing from the common literal Sense of the Word. And this ought always to be a Maxim, that Words must yield to Things: Otherwise, *this is my Body*, is as clear an Expression, and ought as much to be taken in a literal Sense, as *go into everlasting Fire*.

in the Form in which we now behold it, or in that which it will, after the Conflagration, receive; and in one or the other of them Hell is appointed to be.

Hitherto we have examined the Force of the Words, and the Nature of the Things which they signify. I desire Leave to add in the third Place, that when our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ was conversant upon Earth, in the Form of a Servant, he spoke not in the Language of a Philosopher, but in that of the Sons of Men; and especially in that of the *Jews*, to whom he was chiefly sent, as has been abundantly observed by learned Men in their Comments on the Discourses of Christ; and therefore he follows, for the most Part, the receiv'd Opinion, and the Phraseologies of his Country; and in the Instructions which he gave them for the promoting their Piety, he willingly uses those Expressions which were known to the People, and to their Magistrates, either from the Law or the Prophets, or from vulgar Tradition: And therefore when he treats of Hell under the Name of *Gebenna*, and proportions the Degrees of Punishment to the Nature of the Crimes, he spoke in the Style which the *Jews* spoke, a Style accommodated to the common Capacity.

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Likewise in describing the Torments of Hell, *Mark ix. 44.* he makes use of the Expression of the Prophet *Isaiab Chap. lxvi. 24.* of which the very identical Words are to be found in the seventy Interpreters: *O gar skolex auton o teleutesei, kai to pur auton ou sbeftbesetai.* For their Worm shall never die, and their Fire shall not be quenched: And other Authors make it apparent, that this Manner of speaking was known and familiar to the Jews, viz. That Fire and Worms were the Punishments of the Ungodly. Therefore, Christ alter'd nothing in this Point, and believed that this Anticipation and Prepossession of the People was justly to be retained, when it appeared instrumental in curbing the Audaciousness of the Wicked.

Thus every Thing relating to the Torments of Hell, on either Side, being weighed, every Man is at Liberty to embrace that Opinion which his Conscience shall pronounce to be most agreeable to sound Reason; and let him adhere to that Interpretation of the sacred Scripture upon this Point, which the weighty Reasons of the Cause before us will be best able to bear. If a State of eternal Misery and Impiety in the Creature is inconsistent with the Wisdom and Justice of the Creator, we must

give up the literal Interpretation in this Point, or we must distinguish between the literal and the reasonable Hypothesis, the Vulgar and the secret one, lest, by a temerarious and unskilful Interpretation, we entertain Thoughts unworthy of the divine Nature. But if on the other Side, there appears nothing to you in such a desperate State, a State unchangeably evil and miserable, foreign either from the Nature of God, or from the Nature of Things, you must adhere to the Letter, and you must stop your Ears, and harden your Heart against all the Lamentations, the Groans, the Wails, and the dismal Outcries of Men eternally undone, and everlastingly miserable. Yet, if you will vouchsafe to hearken to me, not clamourously urging you, but gently advising you, I would rather have you call these indefinite than infinite Torments; for 'tis not sufficiently evident, or known to me, what End they are like to have; but let us leave it to God to be determined by him, according to his Wisdom and Mercy.\*

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\* That if it please him, the Prisoners may be released when they have paid the uttermost Farthing, and satisfy'd his Justice. But, if after all, you cannot relish this Doctrine, let it be placed among the obscure and doubtful ones.

I know not by what Means it happens at present, that some Divines of a cruel and fiery Temper are extremely pleased with eternal and infinite Torments, and can hardly endure to have the Point fairly examined and debated on both Sides. But several of the Antients have handled this Subject a great deal more gently and more modestly, and left to the Wisdom and Pleasure, of God alone, the Time that every one shall continue in those Torments. Thus *Justin Martyr*, in his Dialogue with *Tryphon*, p. 223. *Ai men (ton eusebon Psuchai) axiai tou Theou phaneisai, ouk apothneskoufin eti ai de (ton adikon) kolazantai est' anautas kai einai kaiko laxesthai o Theos thele.* The Souls of the Righteous, which appear worthy of God, are to die no more: But the Souls of the Ungodly will be punished, as long as God will have them exist and be punished. Nor does *St. Jerom* dissent from these, though, otherwise, a Man of a very high, and sometimes an impetuous Spirit; yet, in this Point, he shews a Moderation

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ones. But the Time will come when this Opinion will be reckoned as absurd and odious, as Transubstantiation is now.

See what the fifth Oecumenical Synod decreed against the finite Punishments of Hell, in *Gerard de Infer.* tom. 9. p. 467. and *Huet. Orig.* l. 2. c. 11. p. 138, &c.

of Soul that is worthy of Commendation. In his Commentaries he has these Words on the fore-mentioned Passage of *Isaiab*, Chap. lxi. and the last Verse; *They who are of the Opinion that these Punishments will one Day be ended, and the Torments one Time no more, have Recourse to the following Testimonies.* Then quoting the Passages which appear to be favourable to that Opinion, he adds these Words: *Which are all repeated by those that are desirous to assert, that after the Rack and the Tortures are over, Rest and Refreshment will follow; which at present is to be hid from those, to whom Fear is wholesome and useful; that while they are afraid of the Punishment, they may be debarred from their Sins, which we ought to leave to the Knowledge of God alone, who weighs not only his Mercies, but these Torments likewise, as it were in the Ballance, and knows who, and how long every one ought to be punished.* This says *St. Jerom*, upon the aforesaid Passage: And he had said Things related to these before in the said Commentaries, on the twenty fourth Chapter, towards the End. *We ought to know that human Frailty cannot penetrate the Judgment of God, nor be capable of giving any Opinion concerning the Greatness or the Duration of Punishments*



ments which he inflicts, which is left entirely to the Will of the Lord.

Thus far he: I make no Mention of *Origen*, whose Opinion concerning this Matter is universally known, who seems to have been follow'd in this Point, as in several others by both the *Gregories*, \* *Nazianzene*, and *Nyssene*: † And several other Fathers, whom we mentioned above, and who were of Opinion that the Flames of Hell were *Pur katharsion*, as well as *kolasterion*, a purgative as well as  
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\* See *Orat.* 40. p. 665. When he had spoken of the eternal Punishment of the Damn'd, according to the receiv'd Opinion, he seems afterwards to correct himself, and discovers some Doubt concerning it, by adding, *Ei me to philon kantauth a noein touto Philanthropoteron, kaitou kalaxontos oupaxios.* Unless any one is inclined to interpret this in a Sense more mild towards Man the Sufferer, and more worthy of God the Avenger. He intimates, that 'tis more human, and better becoming the Deity, that these Punishments should be moderated. *Nilus*, the Scholar of *St. Chrysostome*, and a Martyr, from this Place of *Nazianzene*, infers, that in those Times the Fathers were dubious about the Eternity of Hell Torments, and that it was an Opinion very much controverted among them; since *Nazianzene*, says he, *has left it free for any one, as pleases, to understand this Fire in a milder Sense.*

† See Chap. viii. *Orat. Catechet*, where he says, that they who are incorrigible in this Life, shall, in the next, be cured by more severe and bitter Remedies. And in his *de Anima* and *Resurr.* p. 229. he treats of the universal Purgation and Restoration; and there he often repeats this same or a like Opinion: As he does likewise *de Opif. hominis*, 6. 21.

punitive Fire, signified by that very Thing, that those Torments would one Day have an End. Lastly, St. *Austin* † calls the Patrons of this Opinion by no incongruous Title, the *Merciful Doctors*, and treats them with Humanity. || Now, says he, *I see that I must go to work with our merciful Doctors, with whom I must dispute pacifically; who are of Opinion, that the Punishment will not be eternal, either of all those whom the most righteous Judge shall pronounce worthy of the Punishments of Hell, or of some of them: But after the Limits of certain Time, which will be longer or shorter according to the Greatness of every one's Offence, they believe that they will be delivered from it.*

Thus has St. *Austin* laid before us the Opinion of the *Merciful Doctors*. They who are of the other Party may be called, by the Reason of Contraries, *The Doctors with-*

† *Civit. Dei* l. xx. c. 17. and following.

|| Notwithstanding what he may have said in some Places; in others he seems doubtful in determining in what Sense the Punishments of Sinners are called *eternal*; as particularly where he says, *nor would I be understood, by speaking thus, to hinder a more accurate Enquiry into the Meaning of Scripture, when it pronounces the Punishments of the Wicked to be eternal.* (See *D. Hamm. \*\*\*\** and \*\*\*\* l. 7. from St. *August.* 1. de *Serm. dom. in mont. Tom. 4. on Matt. v. 25, 26.*) But let us return to the Place about the *Merciful*.

*without Mercy: And one of these in the Name of the rest, has deliver'd his Opinion of the Torments of Hell, after the following Manner: If all the Men that were ever born from Adam to this present, and all those that will hereafter be born, should live to the last Day, and all the Blades of Grass that ever sprung up were Men; and if they were equally to distribute only one Punishment which a Soul suffers in Hell, for only one mortal Sin; so that every one should have an equal Share of that Punishment; then every equal Share of the Punishment of that one Man, would be greater than all the Torments, which all the Martyrs, and all Robbers, and the greatest Malefactors have ever yet endured. Thus far he. Now, if to these cruel and outrageous Torments, you add Eternity, you will fill up all the Parts,*  
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\* Did we but seriously consider what Eternity is, how vast, how boundless a Thing, we should be less forward in pronouncing eternal Punishments upon the Miserable. Eternity has something dreadful in its very Sound; 'tis infinite, inexhaustible! *So vast are the Spaces of Eternity, says a certain Divine, that if any one of the Damn'd should drop but one Tear every thousandth Year, it would raise more Water than all the World could contain.*

To these Opinions of the Fathers, give me leave to add an Argument from Reason, which to me seems to be of some Weight: If there be no Purgation, no Mitigation,  
or

the Numbers, and the Measures of Inhumanity.\*

It is difficult to us to divest ourselves of all Humanity; it is more difficult to God to lay aside all Mercy. And, if we are able to corrupt or destroy our own Nature, the divine Nature we are able neither to corrupt nor destroy. Men formerly beat Drums in the Valley of *Hinnon*, that the Cries of the Children, who were sacrificed to the fiery Idol, and who shrieked most rue-

or Remission of Punishment, what will become of the Souls of a middle Condition? Such Souls I mean that have not distinguished themselves in any great Degree of Piety or Impiety; that are neither very good nor very wicked; such as in Reality the greatest Part of Mankind are. They have more of the Brute than of the Devil in them. What will become, I say, \*\*\*

We have observed above, that the human Species may be divided into three Ranks; The Good, the Bad, and the Middling. The Good are placed in eternal Felicity, the Bad in eternal Torments; but where are the Middling Sort to go, or what will become of them? They seem neither deserving of eternal Punishments nor eternal Happiness. There must be the same Disparity in the Recompence of Persons, as there is in their Deserts.

There have been some who have thought that the Souls of the Wicked, worn out by a length of Punishments, shall at last die, and lose all Sensation and Vitality; according to that of *Arnobius*, *The Souls that know not God are consumed after a long Run of Time by their fiery Tortures: The same say Tatian and Irenæus.*

Lastly, that is called, *pur asbeston, an unquenchable Fire*, which burns without any Intermision; that is not put out by any external Force, but lasts as long as there is any Thing remaining to nourish and feed it.

ruefully among the Flames, might not be heard by their Parents or the People. But though you could make all Heaven resound with perpetual Thunderings, yet you can never bring it to pass, that in this Tophet, concerning which we speak, you can hinder the Lamentations, and the piercing Cries of so many Millions of tormented Wretches, from mounting up to the Ears of *Jehova*, the Father and the Fountain of all Mercy.

Now behold, if you please, O Merciless Doctor, the Spectacle that you set before us; what Theatre of Providence! Behold by much the greater Part for the Race of Men, weltering amidst the Flames of everlasting Ages! O Scene, deserving to have God and his Angels for its Spectators! and then to charm your Ears, while you hear Heaven and Earth resounding with the Screams, the Shrieks, the Groans, the Roars of so many Millions of the Tormented Damnd, have you not a divine Harmony in your Ears, a truly celestial Consort. Besides, this gives me no small Displeasure, that I see so great a Part of reasonable Nature, in this Manner entirely lost, and become the Outcast of Things; like Salt that has entirely lost its Savour, or Wine that has lost its Spirit, thrown con-

temptibly out of Doors, too vile for any present Use, or any future Hope.

Every Creature, as far as it appears to us, is liable to fall, as well as the Wicked and the Damn'd. But if they who fall after the same Manner, are altogether irrecoverable, the whole intellectual Creation is then expos'd, not only to Vanity, but to eternal Misery: And to have fram'd such a Nature of Things, \* would not have requir'd so much a divine Goodness, as the Cruelty of some evil Demon, or the hazardous Work of Chance. God formerly repented that he had made Man, by reason of his abominable Wickedness: Miserable Man will, in his Turn, repent that ever God creat-

\* That which happens in this World may possibly happen in others; but here, as 'tis vulgarly believed, the greater Part of Humankind will perish eternally. Make but the same Supposition of other Worlds, and then what a Havock, what Desolation will there be of the rational Nature, if you extend the Account throughout the Universe? This lost uselefs Part of Nature will far exceed the remaining Part. I call it *uselefs*; for it will be, as it were, the *Caput Mortuum* of the Universe, or the curs'd barren Dregs of Earth, from whence nothing good or valuable can be extracted. And not only so; it is not only an unprofitable Burden upon Nature, but an intolerable Burden to itself; neither can it relinquish, nor bear itself. It curses the hateful Light, and the Day whereon it first saw the Sun and the Stars; curses the over-officious Hour that call'd it forth from its primitive Nothing, where it lay quiet in a happy State of Silence and Obscurity.

created him, since it had been much better for him never to have at all existed.\*

Let thus much suffice concerning Hell, and the future Punishments of the Wicked, provided you subjoin that Admonition, which is always used by the fore-mention'd Fathers, whenever they handle this Subject, that is to say, whatever your Opinion is within yourself, and in your own Breast concerning these Punishments, whether they are eternal or not; yet always with the People, and when you preach to the People, use the receiv'd Doctrine, and the receiv'd Words in the Sense, in which the People receive them: For they are apt to run headlong into Vice, and are to be terrified from offending by the Apprehension of Punishment only. Besides, among the Good there are the Children, and the Persons

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\* In fine, they who cannot approve of the Doctrine of absolute Reprobation, because it seems repugnant to the divine Nature and Attributes, ought to be as much displeas'd with the eternal Punishments of the Wicked, since they are equally repugnant to the same Attributes; as, on the other Hand, it is the Interest of those who receive that Doctrine of Reprobation, to reject this of eternal Punishment; because thereby they will much lessen the Force of the greatest Objection, that lies against them; since it will not be altogether so shocking for a Man to be pre-ordain'd and condemn'd to Punishments that will have an End; but to Punishments eternal and intolerable would be the most poignant and exquisite Severity.

sons grown up, to be nourished with Milk or more solid Food, according to the Strength of each of them. No less Regard is to be paid to these, nor is the Diet of the little ones, or the weak ones to be rashly changed, lest an Intemperature in their Constitutions should arise, and throw them into Diseases. You ought to have always before your Eyes, and always in your Designs, the Progress of Providence in gradually promoting \* Piety in the World, and in illuminating Humankind; and you ought, in your Endeavours and your Designs, to proceed with an equal Pace till we arrive to that, that what has been whispered to us, we may proclaim upon the House Top. But Minds are gradually to be accustomed to bear the more forcible Rays of Truth. Too much Light is hurtful to tender Eyes, or Light too suddenly poured upon them. Few behold Things themselves as they are, but only their Images as they appear when they are seen, as it were, in a Glass. But we shall at length, if it pleases God, see the Things themselves even Face to Face, as they say,

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\* And therefore, as this was written for the perusal of the Learned only, whoever shall translate it into the Vulgar Language, I can think no otherwise, but that he does it with an ill Intention and for wicked Purposes.



the Veil being taken from them. This we shall do, partly towards the End of this World, but more fully in the next.

The CONCLUSION.

As the Matter of this Book is of various Kinds, and comprehends divers Heads of the Christian Doctrine, and those for the most Part beyond the Paths and the Light of Nature, it may easily happen, that in treating of these, I may sometimes have err'd from the Mark. I am but a Man, but a little Man, and am far from thinking myself above the Infirmities that are incident to human Nature. But he who with a sincere Mind, and who without any Fear, or Aversion, or Affection whatever, seeks the naked Truth, has God for his Assistant; God, I say, will open to him who knocks, will give to him who asks, provided we ask for that pure and pacifick Wisdom which descends from Heaven. Nor let any one blame me, because that in treating of this Subject, I have found many Things obscure in the sacred Writings, many Things, if I may use the Expression, not adequately, or not absolutely revealed. I desire that this may be understood as spoke, with Regard to my own  
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Understanding and Capacity: And if any other Person shall clear up those Passages better, I shall be glad to embrace the Discovery, and to congratulate the Author: But I find this to be the chief Obstacle to true Knowledge, that we do not distinguish Things that are clear, from Things that are obscure, as if we saw clearly and distinctly every Thing alike.

Most of the Commentators on the sacred Scripture understand or pretend to understand every single Passage, you shall nowhere find them conscious of their Ignorance and confessing it. In like Manner, the Scholastick Doctors, and they who preside in University Chairs, solve every Problem after their own Way, attain to Truth in them all, and comprehend them all. I really admire the Omniscience of both Classes of Divines. They think it shameful, forsooth, or, at least, inglorious, for the Teachers of Christians to be ignorant of any Thing in their Art. Perhaps this their Ostentation of universal Science may contribute to the augmenting that Esteem, which their Disciples, or the Vulgar have conceived of them; but it will be esteemed by the Wise to be a Proof of Defect of Judgment: For they who pronounce as boldly of Objects remote, or latent in the  
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Dark, as of those that are nearer, and that are seen in the Light, will be thought to have seen neither the one nor the other clearly and distinctly.

It has seem'd Good to Providence, while we are in this Life, to lay before us the Accounts of mystical Points compendiously, and, as it were, by Halves, that being rouz'd and waken'd by these Hints and Specimens, we may be acquainted both with the Bounds of our present Dispensation, and the Perfection of the future. "If ten Men of Sense, and of liberal Spirit, were to write at the same Time upon this very Subject; that is, upon the Things of a future Life, or, as they are wont to call them, the last Things, I can hardly believe, that two of the Ten would be of the same Opinion in every Point." And, therefore, if the friendly Reader differs from me in some of them, nay, if in all, I shall riot at all wonder; and for the same Reason, let him not be angry with me: For *Thebes* is every Jot as far distant from *Athens*, as *Athens* is from *Thebes*: Nor does he less dissent from me, than I from him. The only Question is, which of us comes nearest to the Truth? *Elias* when he comes will solve many Difficulties; *Christ* will solve all when he comes. Let there be Light, I shall be glad to be refuted in any Point which I have been mistaken in. It is my hearty Prayer, I desire nothing more than the Truth, and nothing but the Truth.

In the mean while, let us faithfully retain the Form of sound Doctrines and Words, the Immortality of the Soul, the Resurrection of the Dead, Rewards and Punishments in a future Life, according to every ones Works, and the Disposition of his Mind: Lastly, the Conflagration and Renovation of the World; and that *Christ* will come, and reign here: These, and if besides these there are any other primary Points, which relate to a future Life, let us preserve them with the utmost Care: But as for the Modes of Things that are to come, their \* Order, and

\* Concerning this Judgment, (*meaning the last Judgment*,) we are informed of these Particulars; the coming of *Elias* *Thesbites*, the Conversion of the *Jews*, the Persecution of *Antichrist*, that *Christ* shall be the Judge, the Resurrection  
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and their Circumstances, it is but just that we should indulge and assist each other in our Enquiries after them. We ought not with Bitterness to contest with each other about Things which God is not pleased that we should be fully instructed in, during this present State; and they who for Causes of this Nature satirize and rail at each other, or are inflamed with Anger and Spleen for the light and doubtful Errors of others, they fall themselves into undoubted Sins, and I may add into grievous ones. Let us, at length, avoid these Mischiefs, which, not without Disgrace to the Christian Name, alas! have too much prevailed. Let us at length cease playing the Fool, or rather being mad. Let every one be contented to propose his own Opinion, fortify'd with the best Reasons and Proofs which he is able to bring without Quarrel or Contumely, which signify nothing to Truth, and contribute nothing to the Defence of the Cause. On the contrary, when the Patrons of a Cause desert the just Defence of it, to affront and abuse their Adversaries, it is a shrewd Sign of the Weakness of it. *Let us*, therefore, as many of us as are well instructed, or are studious after Truth, retain this Opinion, and if any of you have other Sentiments God will reveal the Truth to you.

of the Dead, the Separation of the Good from the Bad, the Conflagration of the World, and lastly its Renovation: All which, we are assured, will come to pass; but in what Manner or Order they will happen, we shall then best know, when we shall have seen and experienced the whole Process, the Understanding of Man being, at present not able to arrive at a Certainty in these Particulars. *Lactan. Fragm. de extr. Judic. August. de C. D. lib. xx. cap. 30.*

F I N I S.







